Cheap Print for Children: Expanding the History of Children's Books in Britain, 1799-1890

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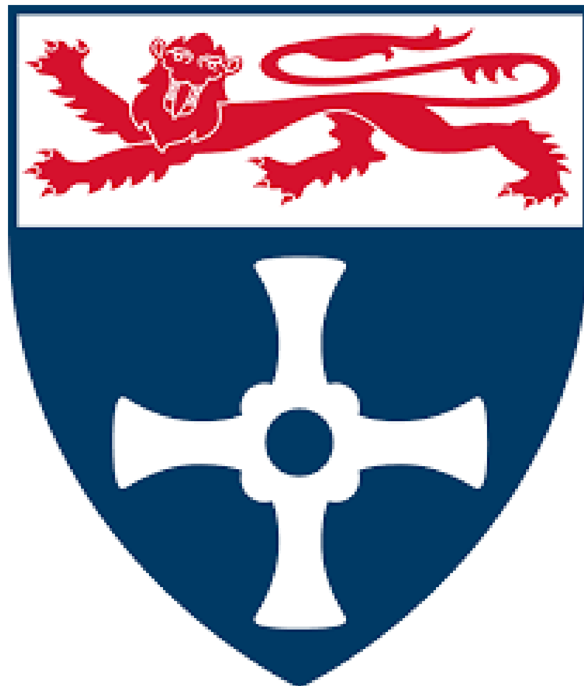

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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of cheap children's print in Britain, offering an expanded history of children's literature across the nineteenth century. In the process, it tests the claims made in existing histories of British children's books, which are typically based on a small, often repeated sample of titles aimed primarily at middle- and upper-class readers. This thesis instead examines a corpus of 879 texts dating from 1799, when the Religious Tract Society was established, to 1890, by when the first comics were being published. Cheap children's print – here defined as texts sold at under 1shilling, or made cheaply, and marketed to poorer readers- is explored through key themes that feature prominently in these texts: religion, gender, social class, race, and fantasy. This is achieved through a mixture of quantitative analysis, examining trends across the corpus, and close reading. Chapter 2 argues that, unlike in more expensive texts, religious themes, teachings, and references maintained a presence in cheap children's literature from 1799 to 1890. Chapter 3 argues that while cheap children's domestic fiction presents many of the same ideals of the domestic, motherhood, and the extended family as are found in more expensive texts, their use in cheap print reveals the conflicted attitudes on which they are built. Chapter 4 demonstrates that texts within the corpus present a simplified image of regions of the world through the use of conventional national images. Chapter 5 focuses on fantasy, identifying a remarkable stability in how fantastical elements were presented in the texts under discussion. Together these case studies reveal how this neglected aspect of children's publishing can contribute to a new understanding of the development of British children's literature.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The history of children's literature has been retold many times over the past decades, with each history recognising that print aimed at children expanded hugely in the nineteenth century. This was due to many factors, including increased literacy rates, the ever-cheapening cost of production, and a constant evolution of ideas about childhood and education. All of these came together, resulting in an explosion of texts written specifically for young readers from a wide range of publishers, authors, and organisations. The Religious Tract Society (RTS), founded in 1799, although not a specialist children's publisher, contributed heavily to many of the ideas of what it was appropriate for children to read, particularly those within the lower classes.[1] At the other end of the century, the publication of the first comic books in 1890 changed the face of cheap serialised children's print for ever. Between these two dates lie decades of innovation, social change, and industrial innovation that previous histories have examined in some detail.

This thesis aims to broaden the scope of earlier studies. Most scholars writing on the history of children's literature had limited access to, or perhaps interest in, the cheaper material used by poorer children. Such texts are not celebrated, or archived in the same way as the material read by the wealthier classes of society, and they have continued to be largely neglected by subsequent critics. Yet the nineteenth century was a period in which vast quantities of texts were produced, many of them extremely cheaply. Omitting these from accounts of children's literature means that the standard histories are largely limited to what the middle- and upper-classes were reading. An enormous and fascinating body of cheap, popular, and ephemeral children's print, available to the working classes, has been overlooked.

[1] For a detailed discussion of reading on the basis of class, see Kimberley Reynolds's *Girls Only? Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910.*

Including the Missing Pieces

One of the major focuses of this thesis is to demonstrate that the entire breadth of cheap children's print must be included in any study that intends to secure a clear idea of changes over the course of the nineteenth century. Previous histories have either excluded certain texts on the basis of not meeting a given value for being 'literature', or have deliberately chosen to focus on one particular genre or type of text. In contrast, my thesis includes every text found within the archive collections that could conceivably be considered both cheap and aimed at child readers. This is therefore the first truly comprehensive study of all cheap print for children published between the founding of the Religious Tract Society in 1799 and the publication of the first comic book in 1890. As such, this thesis offers a new advantage within the study of children's texts because the conclusions reached here regarding any of the messages or norms promoted by print for child readers accounts for the entire range of cheap texts.

The limitations placed on texts considered for studies of children's literature can be traced back to the very origins of the field. The first totalising attempt to map the history of English children's literature was made by F. J. Harvey Darton in his 1932 study, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, which continues to be a seminal text and was reprinted as recently as 2011. Darton's account of works for children aims to be 'a record of what certain human beings meant to write, and of their reasons for writing, if they can be discovered' (preface v). As such, he focusses much of his attention on specific children's authors or publishers and their intentions. He offers, for example, high praise to John Newbery, and understandably relies on his own family's contribution to children's publishing through their publishing firm, which began in 1787, for a number of examples. His text is also by far the most expansive of the major histories, examining over 350 texts printed in the nineteenth century alone. Despite this, however, one of the most notable characteristics of his corpus is

what is missing. Darton states at the beginning of his first chapter that he does not consider instructive, didactic, or educational texts to be strictly children's literature. Thus, he writes:

> I shall therefore exclude from this history, as a general rule, all school books, all purely moral or didactic treatises, all reflective or adult-minded descriptions of child-life, and almost all alphabets, primers, and spelling-books; though some works in each category will be mentioned because they purposely gave much latitude to amusement, or because they contained elements which have passed into a less austere legacy. (1)

These are significant exclusions, and they arise directly from his focus on the literary and entertainment rather than pedagogical uses of texts. The result is that, when taking into account the broader production of print materials for children, Darton's focus clearly skews understanding of what kind of materials were published for the youthful market. His decision has had far-reaching consequences; modern university courses on children's books still tend to concentrate on literature, meaning 'belles lettres', rather than the full range of juvenile publications. Indeed, Darton's choices on what to include has influenced the study of children's literature for decades: in the present day, alphabets and primers, moral and didactic texts, are not always treated with the same critical attention as more 'entertaining' works despite the efforts of some critics (Mitzi Myers and Patricia Demers, for example, both of whom are discussed below) to demonstrate the value and importance of these works. As such, despite exploring an impressively large number of texts, Darton's survey cannot be considered representative of what was actually being printed for and marketed to children, but rather leaves significant gaps in the history of children's publishing.

The tendency towards valuing certain types of children's texts over others may have been started by Darton, but it was cemented by later critics. Mary Jackson's 1989 *Engines of Instruction, Mischief, and Magic: Children's Literature in England from its Beginnings to 1839*

is another influential example of these histories. Jackson shares the general sense of her predecessors; that the history of children's books reflects 'the nearly universal assumption that children were resources to be moulded or engineered to specifications determined by a prevailing standard' (xi). However, where Darton finds a wide range of motivations for publishing, Jackson focusses much of her attention on the profit-making side of the industry. She argues that business interests rather than religious or educational concerns were the primary drive behind developments in children's publishing. In illustrating her argument, Jackson surveys almost 130 texts from the nineteenth century – less than half of the number covered by Darton. Furthermore, by the 1980s a pattern in which texts were chosen for discussions around the history of children's print had emerged. Darton in 1932, Mary Thwaite (writing in 1972 and discussed below), Gillian Avery (writing in 1975 and also examined below), and Jackson in 1989 all examined publications from the same pool of authors: Hannah More, Sarah Trimmer, Mary Martha Sherwood, Maria Edgeworth, Edward Lear, and Charlotte Yonge, for example, crop up over and again, as do specific titles including *The Fairchild Family* (1818), *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) and *Eric; or, Little by Little* (1858). Each study also touches on a small number of other authors. Jackson, for instance, examines Ann and Jane Taylor, while Avery and Darton both include material about the work of Frances Hodgson Burnett. But given that this thesis reveals the remarkable scope of the publishing industry throughout the nineteenth century, and since many of these authors were writing texts that were simply too expensive for most children to buy, the fact that the same names keep reappearing means that the vast majority of our current understanding of nineteenth-century children's publishing is taken from a small sample of often relatively inaccessible texts. This means that Darton's 350 primary sources do not add to Jackson's or Avery's to make over 500 total primary sources: rather, the significant overlap means that until recently the same modest handful of texts – quickly reifying into a canon of works – has been used to examine an entire

area of publishing. As such, it cannot be claimed that any of the arguments for the development of children's literature can be said to come from either a large or a representative sample: a failure in representation that this thesis aims to correct.

Fortunately for our current understanding of children's literature, some of the kinds of texts that were dismissed by Darton have been examined elsewhere – although they have not previously been considered together with the kinds of texts approved by Darton in the same way that this thesis does. Although other major histories, including those discussed below by Mary Thwaite and Mary Jackson, continue Darton's trend of devaluing certain children's texts in favour of others, some critics have attempted to redress at least part of this imbalance by focussing exclusively on these neglected genres. One example is Patricia Demers's text *Heaven Upon Earth: The Form of Moral and Religious Children's Literature, to 1850* (1993), which argues that didactic works have unfairly been left out of the history of children's print, stating that '[t]oo often a polemical or restricting thesis inhibits the study of early writing for children' (5). She goes on to argue that

> Another critical device for controlling and containing early moral and religious children's literature is to limit its importance to that of a mere preliminary. If it does not end up on the losing side of the magnified antagonism between instructive and entertaining literature, then it is soon cast aside in the melioristic march to realms of delight unburdened with moralising. (5)

Such an argument is powerful, and makes sense: deliberately excluding texts from the discussion because they do not fit arbitrary modern categories of what counts as a 'good' work for children results in a lopsided understanding of the history of children's literature. Demers, along with Patrick Fleming's later *The Legacy of the Moral Tale: Children's Literature and the English Novel, 1744-1859* (2016), does a great deal to address this imbalance. Similarly,

Mitzi Myers' numerous and influential essays about early women's writing for children, including "Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames, and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Books" (1986); "'Like the Pictures in a Magic Lantern': Gender, History, and Edgeworth's Rebellion Narratives" (1996); "'Anecdotes from the Nursery' in Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education*" (1798): and "Learning from Children 'Abroad and At Home'" (1999), have repeatedly argued that dismissing earlier moral or didactic stories is unfair and short sighted. However, texts that focus only on a specific aspect of children's print cannot place this area of publishing into the context of the wider market. How these moral tales fitted alongside other texts being produced, whether by specialist publishers or in company with less didactic texts, and what part they played in shaping the ways the cheap children's print market as a whole represented social norms and expectations to their child readers, cannot be understood through an examination that limits itself to a single kind of publication. This may in fact be especially true for moral tales, which were often consumed by and aimed at a middle-class readership as well as working-class children. This is the gap which this thesis addresses: by examining over 850 works without splitting them by genre or educational value, this study places these cheap texts within the wider context in order to examine their significance, especially within the cheaper and popular markets.

Instruction vs Entertainment

Another clear departure from previous histories by this thesis is the argument for how and when a movement from didacticism to primarily entertaining texts for children occurred. Although more recent critics have questioned and complicated it, the assertion from earlier critics that there was a sudden change in how children's literature was treated and conceptualised in the

second half of the nineteenth century remains an enticing one. These critics argue that earlier texts were more concerned with educating their readers, while later ones focussed their efforts more on entertainment. This thesis demonstrates that in the cheapest texts available to the widest range of children, there was a gradual shift in the style of texts produced rather than a sudden watershed. Instead, works that were interested in entertaining children existed from the beginning of the century, and didactic moral and religious texts continued to be produced right up to 1890. This is a clear departure from these critics, and demonstrates the importance of including cheap texts into any narrative concerning the history of children's texts, as any cultural shifts or changes in the publishing industry were more gradual and less dramatic than have previously been assumed.

The first examples of a critic engaging with the so-called 'Golden Age' of children's literature, which usually refers to developments within the second half of the nineteenth century and the Edwardian period, can be found as early on as in Darton's criticism. The depth provided by *Children's Books in England* coupled with a general academic lack of interest in children's literature resulted in a lull of almost four decades before new histories of children's literature began to appear. The next milestone came with Mary Thwaite's 1972 text, *From Primer to Pleasure in Reading: An Introduction to the History of Children's Books in England from the Invention of Printing to 1914 with an Outline of Some Developments in Other Countries*. Thwaite's highly influential argument is that the history of children's literature can be effectively viewed as a struggle between 'instruction' and 'amusement' – and that the latter finally won out in the nineteenth century. In this, Thwaite's view of children's literature history runs along similar lines to Darton's, but she includes the instructional texts as a distinct part of the industry worth examining in its own right. Her approach to children's texts lies in the crux of this view of amusement and instruction as two diametrically opposed forces. She states unequivocally that

> The child, at last, was put at the centre, and his need to wonder and laugh and dream and to live in a world of his own making was recognised. It was even given exaggerated importance in later Victorian times, when it could lead to over-fanciful and too preciously whimsical creations by less disciplined writers for the young. (47)

Aside from being a value-based judgement that assumes children were stifled by older didactic texts and that childhood itself was simply waiting to be discovered and catered to by adults who understood children's true needs, such a claim takes for granted that this shift from instructional to amusing works was true across all genres, categories, and classes of readers. My thesis clearly demonstrates when taking the cheapest texts available into account, this claim does not completely stand up. Certainly more didactic works were published in the earlier parts of the century than the latter half, but 'whimsical' works containing fairies and giants were published right from 1799, and moral and religious sermons were published up to 1890. The shift away from didacticism was neither as extreme nor as complete as Thwaite contends.

Furthermore, Thwaite's decision to show instruction and amusement as oppositional characteristics, with the second being superior to the first, has continued to influence discussions around children's books ever since. Fred Inglis, for example, writing almost a decade later in 1981, based the entire premise of *The Promise of Happiness: Value and Meaning in Children's Literature* on the belief that children's books not only could but *should* be split into 'good' and 'bad', with 'good' fiction being understood to be that which nourishes the imagination effectively. This means that in terms of nineteenth-century publications, he includes only Lewis Carroll and Charles Dickens on the 'good' side. Such judgments are ultimately unhelpful since it is difficult to make claims about what children over a hundred years ago might have gained from their readings. Nor is it desirable to ignore large swathes of the publishing market simply because they do not cater to a specific idea of 'good children's books' – let alone 'good books for children'.

Approaches to children's texts that stem from heavily value-based judgements that favour one kind of text over another can be found in many of the earlier criticisms of the field. For example, this style of judgement can clearly be found in examinations of periodicals. This is particularly true for those studies that examine texts from the later decades of the nineteenth century, sometimes known as 'penny dreadfuls', a derogatory name given by critics to the cheap serialised boy's adventure fiction produced in vast quantities from around 1870 onwards. Sheila A. Egoff's 1951 *Children's Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century: A Survey and Bibliography* remains one of the best sources for finding nineteenth-century periodicals of all kinds. Her critical work, however, leans on a heavy value-based judgement of these periodicals, and she dismisses most of the cheaper works from the first half of the century, particularly disparaging religious periodicals on the grounds that 'children could hardly have been surprised at the first Sunday School magazine. Their oppression had begun long, long ago in the days of the Puritans' (6). Fortunately, later examinations such as Kirsten Drotner's *English Children and their Magazines, 1751-1945* (1988) succeed in taking a more rounded view. While Drotner does give attention to specific well-known titles, including *The Child's Companion*, *The Child's Friend* and the BOP and GOP, she also looks more widely at the development of juvenile magazines, giving particular attention to the very titles that Egoff disparages. Unfortunately, she has little to say about 'penny dreadfuls' as a point of comparison. In this area she confines her discussion to the work of a single publisher: Edwin Brett. Additionally, Drotner makes little distinction between the cheaper and the more expensive works, meaning issues of accessibility are not greatly discussed. The result of this is that even those criticisms that focus on one particular genre of text (in this case, periodicals for children)

Later critics also continue to demonstrate the consequences of such a narrow critical focus centred on the more costly end of the publishing business by their continued focus on the 'Golden Age'. Humphrey Carpenter's *Secret Gardens: A Study of the Golden Age of Children's*

Literature (1985), followed several decades later by Marah Gubar's 2009 text *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature*, are influential studies in this area. Carpenter uses a broadly biographical approach to argue that these works created an Arcadian notion of childhood. He supports his thesis through case studies of such authors as Charles Kingsley and Lewis Carroll, exploring their works through their personal histories. Such an approach cannot be applied to the vast majority of cheaper texts, which were usually anonymous. Gubar, though not using a biographical approach, likewise concentrates her research on the major children's authors of the period, including Charles Dickens (who, despite generally being associated with adult print, did produce a number of works aimed at children including *The Magic Fishbone* in 1868), Hesba Stretton, J. H. Ewing, Lewis Carroll, and E. Nesbit. Little attempt is made on the part of either critic to test whether their findings apply equally to the popular market – or, indeed, if the characteristics of 'golden age' children's literature can be found in cheaper texts, or were only experienced by those children wealthy enough to afford full novels. This thesis does not attempt to make such value-based judgements about children's reading habits. Instead, it contends that children must at least have been perceived to be reading such works even when more 'entertaining' options were available, or publishers focussed on profit would not have continued to print them for such a long period of time. It also argues that the presence of 'entertaining' cheap works in earlier parts of the century indicates that the desire to 'instruct' also never wholly obscured the desire to turn a profit. Rather, these cheap, non-canonical works show clearly that the desire for profit, the desire to instruct, and the desire to entertain all existed alongside one another simultaneously.

Popular Texts for Children

This is not to claim, of course, that this is the first work to engage with non-canonical nineteenth-century texts. Previous critics have argued that there was a gap between what the

rich and the poor were reading. Many of these concentrate their attention either on reader reception (Grenby and Rose) or on the desires of middle-class gate-keepers to encourage the publication of moral and religious texts. This thesis, however, argues that while there are areas in which there is certainly a gap between what was being written in expensive works compared to in cheaper ones (original fantasy being the clearest example), there are other areas in which the difference was less extreme than has previously been argued – most notably in domestic fiction. This is a clear demonstration of the importance of taking the entire scope of publication into consideration: only examining didactic works, Sunday School texts, or chapbooks, for example, creates an incomplete picture. When examining all of these things together, this thesis reveals that there is a far greater nuance to cheap publications than has been recognised by earlier examinations.

There is only one major study that focusses specifically on the broad spectrum of popular print for children. M. O. Grenby's 2011 *The Child Reader, 1700-1840*, takes a reader-centric view of popular print. He states that his popular history is 'fundamentally about the origins of children's literature as a distinct and secure branch of print culture', and that its development occurred across the long eighteenth century (1). This is a very different approach from previous histories, which examine the motivations and desires of authors and publishers rather than the interests of the child readers themselves. However, Grenby's focus on the eighteenth century means that only 35 of the texts that he examines were printed after 1799, leaving the next stage of the development history of cheaper children's fiction relatively unexplored. While my thesis does not take a reader-centric view, it does examine the texts accessible to poorer readers in order to uncover the themes, focusses, styles, and social expectations represented within these works in a way that begins to address this gap.

There are, however, some studies that do interest themselves with cheap print for children in the nineteenth century, although such examinations focus on specific kinds of texts

rather than the full spectrum available in the way that is done here. Three years after Thwaite's publication came Gillian Avery's *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction* (1975). Avery examines 151 nineteenth-century texts – less than half of Darton's total – and, although she does not mention deliberately excluding particular kinds of publications in the way Darton does, her focus on works of fiction means that she considers very few primers, alphabets or similar texts. Few of these texts have traditional heroes or heroines either, so many would have been outside of her area of interest. She does, however, offer an in-depth discussion of publications written for moral or religious purposes, and Avery is the first of the major children's literature historians to focus her attention on the differences between publications for the rich and the poor. Avery argues that there was a sharp division between what the wealthy and the working classes were reading through most of the nineteenth century. She claims that

> once the book trade, urged forward by the teacher and the moralist and the conscientious parent, began to take the child mind seriously, a new chasm opened up between the prosperous home and the cottage […] The ribald crudity of the chapbooks (or at any rate some of them) became an abomination on the eyes of a more fastidious age; so, to a lesser extent, did anything for children that lacked a pronounced educational purpose. And when the serious-minded decided that the poor child too should be improved, the two classes had so drawn away from each other that a completely new cottage literature had to be provided. (18)

Not only that, but in Avery's view this gap between the classes was sustained for decades:

> by the 1840s the two cultures were firmly established: one culture for the gentle, another for the simple, and a different code of ethics for each, until for a time the two sets of

children so moved away from each other that it would have been difficult for either to derive amusement or profit from the other's books. (71)

While Avery does examine texts that would be available to the poorer classes, she focuses her examination on 'approved' texts, provided for the poor by the wealthy for the express purpose of 'improving' them. She pays particular attention to the Sunday School movement, Evangelical publishers, and School Prize books, and thus offers little sense of what was being printed for profit. Neither is she concerned with whether this 'unapproved' literature so raged against by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century critics, was really as 'ribald' as they feared. As a consequence, though it may be the first major examination of the history of cheap or popular literature, Avery's is only a partial history: one that concentrates on middle-class ideals and authors writing for the poor, and focuses solely on texts with hero and heroine characters. By contrast, this thesis examines Evangelical texts alongside other works that were published cheaply, and in doing so demonstrates that the distance between cheap and expensive texts that Avery perceives was far less extreme than has previously been supposed.

Another critic who chooses to move away from a focus on a small handful of expensive texts is Kimberley Reynolds, in *Girls Only? Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910*. Reynolds's study looks at only 24 texts, including four periodicals, two of which are the *Boy's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Own Paper*, both published by the RTS. Unlike earlier critics, however, this was not entirely due to restrictions of access, although internet archives were still non-existent at the time she was writing. Rather, Reynolds took the critical decision to focus on specific case studies in order to provide a deeper analysis of these previously unseen texts. She argues that there was a significant difference in what was being published for girls compared to boys, despite the fact that girls inevitably read both styles of publication. Reynolds also disagrees with the argument that profit was always the primary motive for children's books, at least when looking specifically at texts for the poor, claiming that

> publishers of children's books in the first half of the century tended to be less interested in profit than in inculcating specific religious, social and ideological precepts; they subscribed to the prevailing idea that the child was born sinful and needed to be catechised into repentance and piety and the pieces they published were intensely didactic. (2)

Such an approach acknowledges, again, that non-didactic texts for the poor did exist in the middle of the nineteenth century. But previous histories have already demonstrated that texts such as William Roscoe's *The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast* (originally published in 1806) were being printed alongside these more didactic texts. Equally, just because the RTS had moved away from overt didacticism does not necessarily mean that religious teaching had disappeared from children's print by the 1880s. Reynolds herself never suggests such a thing, and indeed most of her text examines the later, far less didactic works from the SPCK and RTS that were primarily intended to be entertaining, although with a solid moral groundwork beneath the text: but without a broader spectrum view, such an assertion cannot be settled either way. This thesis takes Reynold's work further by examining these periodicals alongside other cheap texts, to explore the norms and ideals presented to less affluent children across the entire breadth of the publishing industry.

Another example of one particular genre that forms part of the overarching picture explored in this thesis is found in examinations of chapbooks. This thesis will demonstrate that chapbooks were not only a key genre of texts produced cheaply for children in the early parts of the nineteenth century, but also that they had a huge influence on later short texts, including sermons printed for children. criticism focussing specifically on a single area of print can be found in examinations of chapbooks. This expands on previous criticisms of the genre, which tend not to explore beyond the 'end' of the chapbook itself. Indeed, most discussions of the chapbook focus primarily on the eighteenth century and earlier despite the fact that histories of

the genre acknowledge that these cheap texts continued to be printed well into the nineteenth century. Victor Neuburg's *Chapbooks: A Guide to Reference Material on English, Scottish and American Chapbook Literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century*, first published in 1964 with a new edition in 1972, remains a starting point to an examination of these publications. Aside from offering a general definition still in use today of chapbooks, this being: 'the paper-covered books offered for sale by pedlars, hawkers and other itinerant merchants known as "chapmen"', Neuburg also provides an extensive list of publishers, both provincial and in London (1). He does not attempt to characterise the chapbooks themselves, however, as they covered a wide range of topics, themes, and discussions: everything from witchcraft through household advice and fairy tales to lives of the Saints. Matthew Grenby offers a far more detailed analysis of the contents of chapbooks in his essay 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature' (2007), in which he argues that the nineteenth-century chapbook was distinct from earlier iterations due to its focus on a child audience:

> By the opening of the nineteenth century the chapbook had evolved considerably, or rather a new form of publication, which has routinely shared the same designation, had become available. The most important change was one of intended audience: these books were designed exclusively for children. (291)

And indeed, as later chapters will show, many of the cheap texts for children written in the earlier parts of the nineteenth century were chapbooks. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, these children's chapbooks not only existed alongside other kinds of publications for children, they also influenced later tracts and short texts, so a true understanding of these works within their context must take other publications into account as well.

None of this is to claim that there have been no attempts to examine the scope of the history of popular literature or culture in the nineteenth century. Rather, since the turn of the

millennium study of the popular, as well as those texts read by the working classes, has gained a deal of attention. One of the most influential of these studies, at least where literature is concerned, is Jonathan Rose's *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001). Rose's central line of argument is that the working classes have historically been 'culturally conservative', and that they read the same books as the wealthy, but some years after they had been published, when they were priced far lower in second-hand shops.[2] Rose demonstrates that high and popular literature were both enjoyed equally by the working classes throughout the nineteenth century. He also sets out to show that despite this delay, high and popular culture were far more interwoven than has previous been appreciated:

> we must therefore break the habit of treating high and popular culture as two distinct categories with mutually exclusive audiences. In fact, a promiscuous mix of high and low was common pattern among working class readers of all regions, generations, and economic strata. (371)

However, while *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* provides a fascinating account of what the working classes actually read, his aim is precisely that: to examine what they *read*, not what was written specifically for them. Thus, the question of 'what did adults consider it was appropriate to sell cheaply for poorer children to read?' is not addressed in his work – nor, indeed, are children's books in general.

The proof that the working-classes read a hybrid mixture of literature, just as children often read books not originally intended for a juvenile readership, does not answer the question of what such works as *were* intended for that specific audiences reveal about social expectations and practiced norms that this thesis addresses. Ian Haywood comes closer to addressing such a question in *The Revolution in Popular Print, Politics and the People 1790-*

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[2] William St Clair refers to this as 'tranching down' in his text *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*.

1860 (2009), but his focus is on political tracts and texts written for adult readers rather than works for the young. The same is true of Leslie Shepard's wide-ranging critical work, *The History of Street Literature: The Story of Broadside Ballads, Chapbooks, Proclamations, News-Sheets, Election Bills, Tracts, Pamphlets, Cocks, Catch-Pennies, and other Ephemera* (1973), which examines the full range of cheap print intended for, and often written by, the working classes. Shepard's text reveals the impressive range and breadth of print that was cheaply available across the nineteenth century, thus making the point that such resources were accessible to children, too. However, Shepard's study does not interest itself with children's literature specifically, nor the themes and norms presented in texts for children, but rather offers a broad view of the kinds of print that were being produced for poorer readers. Finally, there is also the 'European Dimensions of Popular Print Culture' (EDPOP) project, which has its findings published in a special issue of *Quaerendo* (2021), edited by Matthew Grenby, Elisa Marazzi and Jeroen Salman. The project argues that popular print culture as a whole requires a far more transnational examination than it has so far been subjected to, as its reach was geographically broader than had previously been assumed. Such a project is fascinating, but its very purpose is to move beyond the borders of Britain to discuss the wider impact of popular print, and thus hangs on a different premise to this project, which is centred specifically on developments within British cheap children's print. As this overview of the history of children's literature criticism shows, to date an expansive examination of specifically nineteenth-century cheap literature for children has not previously been produced: this is the gap in the history of children's literature that this thesis explores.

Finding and Defining the Corpus

The aim of this thesis is to examine the ways in which representations of norms and social expectations around ideas of religion, class, gender, and race within cheap children's fiction changed over the course of the nineteenth-century. As such, the chapters here are not split, as the majority of the histories discussed above are, by genre, by publisher, or by grouping writers together. Religion, for example, is examined with reference to more than just the Evangelical authors/publishers, and race is not only discussed in terms of adventure fiction. This does not mean, however, that such information is irrelevant to understanding the history of cheap children's book publishing. Indeed, the corpus of texts gathered here reveals a number of significant patterns in what was being published, where, and by whom.

The Covid-19 pandemic constrained the range of resources I was able to pursue when constructing my corpus. When the plan for this study was originally put together, I found almost 3,000 texts from a variety of online and national archives. In the end, because of restrictions on travel and the opening of libraries and archives imposed because of the pandemic, I was only able physically to access parts of the Opie collection held in the Bodleian Library in the time that I had. Luckily for this project, however, three extensive online archives contain numerous cheaper texts printed from 1799-1890: the Hockliffe collection, from the University of Bedfordshire; the McGill collection, from the University of Montreal; and the Baldwin collection, from the University of Florida. Although this has sharply decreased the number of texts that I was able to include, these three collections, together with what I was able to read in the Opie collection, have resulted in a larger number of texts than any previous history has been able to draw from, and provided a broad enough spectrum to make quantitative analysis in search of general trends meaningful.

The texts were chosen by testing against the definitions devised for establishing the boundaries and nature of the corpus. For instance, this thesis specifically examines cheap and ephemeral children's literature from 1799 to 1890, so working definitions for the terms – *children's literature* and *cheap texts* – had to be agreed. This is particularly problematic as the definition for what text might qualify as 'children's literature' is notoriously difficult to establish. Numerous attempts at defining the term have been made, most of which conclude that there is no simple catch-all definition that captures all children's texts.[3] Nevertheless, some general cornerstones are accepted as a matter of convenience for examining children's texts. Nodelman, for example, states in *The Hidden Adult: Defining Children's Literature* (2008) that he 'happily accept[s] the pragmatic definition that children's literature is the literature published as such. In defining the scope of the field, such a definition provides an excellent place to begin' (146). Rose similarly argues in *The Case of Peter Pan; or, The Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (1994) that children's literature is defined by its desire to address a child reader, saying that '[c]hildren's fiction rests on the idea that there is a child who is simply there to be addressed and that speaking to it might be simple' (1). Hunt's 1994 publication *An Introduction to Children's Literature* similarly agrees that the intended audience, or implied reader, is the simplest and most important: '[w]e are on firmer ground if we look at the 'implied reader': in any text, the tone or features of the narrative voice imply what kind of reader – in terms of knowledge or attitude – is addressed' (12). The definition of a children's book being something printed specifically for and addressing itself to children is therefore one which is widely accepted. It does, of course, forfeit books written by children, or books intended for adults but read by children, and does not answer the question of whether children will read a

[3] See, for example: Karen Coats's "Conventions of Children's Literature: Then and Now" (2001); Marah Gubar's "On Not Defining Children's Literature" (2011); Katherine Jones's essay "Getting Rid of Children's Literature" (2006); Karín Lesnik-Oberstein's introduction to her edited essay collection *Children's Literature: New Approaches* (2004); Maria Nikolajeva's essay "Exit Children's Literature?" (1998); and Perry Nodelman's essay "Defining Children's Literature" (1980).

book just because it is intended for them. However, as the aim of this study is to explore what was being represented to children through cheap texts intended for them, this straightforward working definition is a practical one. As such, this thesis will include texts that either explicitly address a child reader, state that they are for children in the title, or use deliberately simplified language designed for a child reader.

The other key tasks were to define what is meant by 'cheap' and 'popular' texts and the relationship between these terms. Whenever a discussion of texts outside of the main canon is raised, the question of the term 'popular' is raised. A lengthy and detailed discussion of these difficulties is offered by Matthew Grenby in his introduction to *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, edited by Grenby, Julia Briggs, and Dennis Butts (2008). But it is difficult to decide whether or not any of the texts examined here were truly 'popular': we have few records on what was actually being read, especially amongst those tracts and improving texts that were bought in bulk in order to be given away. Equally, texts that were more expensive were enjoyed amongst poorer readerships once the prices of those volumes dropped in secondhand shops. Once again, however, the focus of this study is less on what was actively being read and more on what was available and being published, so the popularity of the texts is less relevant than the mere fact of their existence. As such, I have chosen to focus solely on price as an indicator – hence, the corpus examines *cheap* children's texts as opposed to *popular* ones. But where to place the price cutoff point was not a simple question. Since weekly penny magazines were explicitly targeted at a working-class readership, these could obviously be included. So, too, could texts charging sixpence, as these too were often advertised as being intended for less affluent buyers, and were often of similar paper and ink quality to the tracts and Church pamphlets often being given away for free, indicating a shared intended readership – even if sixpence would actually have been a large sum within the budgets of many working-class families. However, cheap and popular texts in the nineteenth century also includes toy books,

which are often given multiple prices, with the lower one being either sixpence or a shilling. In order to cast the net of the corpus as wide as possible, then, I have included all texts priced at a shilling or under. Many texts carry no price or indication of what it might have been, however, so in such cases physical evidence such as the cover type, length, and paper and ink quality was used to identify examples of cheap print for children.

This broad spectrum reveals a huge breadth of text qualities and lengths. For example, the *Little Dot* series are a set of hardcovered novels, but are priced at sixpence. By contrast, all of the *Aunt Louisa* series, including the *Sunday School* series and the *London Toy Books* series, which as toy books are commonly associated with popular children's print, are priced at one or two shillings depending on the cover type. The cheapest texts I have found are the series of *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books*, which at first glance look to be of the same style and print quality as texts being produced right at the beginning of the century, but are dated at around the 1860s, showing that older, cheaper paper and woodcut pictures could still be used for extremely cheap publications even in later decades. As the images of their respective covers show, while with some texts, like the *Farthing* series, it is immediately apparent that they are

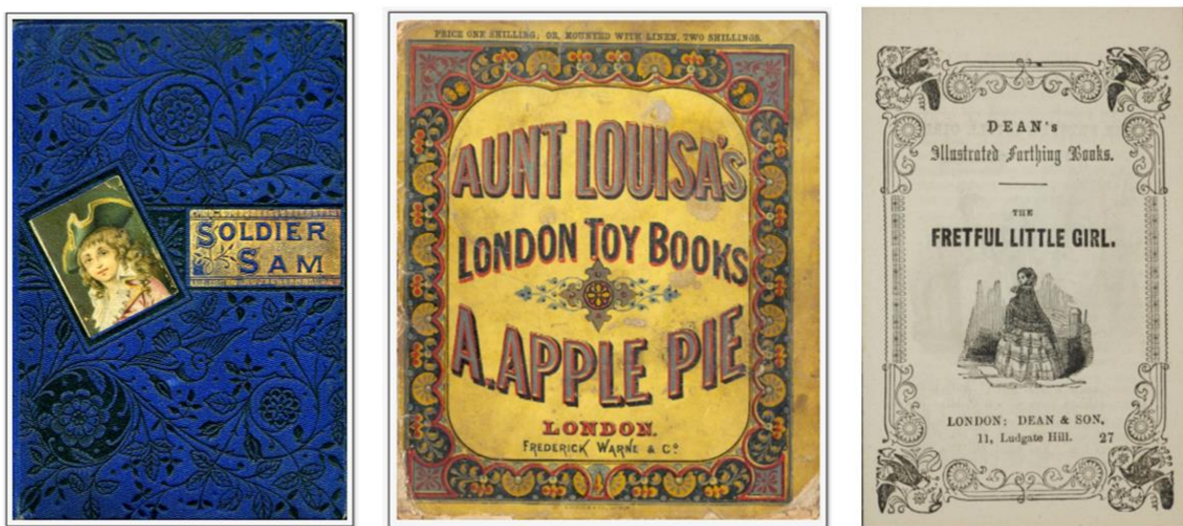


Figure 1.1: Images of Cover Examples. From left to right: cover of *Little Dot Series: Soldier Sam and Lillie's Dream* (RTS, c. 1882, cost 6d); cover of *Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: A. Apple Pie* (Frederick Warne, 1873, cost 1s); and cover of *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books: The Fretful Little Girl* (Dean and Son, c. 1857-1865, cost 1/2d).

intended to be sold cheaply, others, like the *Little Dot* series, look more like the kinds of books sold at more expensively. As such, dismissing all short novels, for example, or all hardback or embroidered books, would have excluded the *Little Dot* series despite them being cheaper than the *Aunt Louisa* toy books. Only by including the full range of texts available can a clear picture of the cheaper children's print market be formed.

Exploring the Corpus

From these archives, and using the above definitions for cheap children's print, I was able to identify and analyze a total of 879 texts. There is some room for uncertainty here: how far do the trends within these texts reflect what was being printed, and how far are they a reflection of what was archived? I have referenced texts from the McGill Chapbook Collection (online, McGill University); the Baldwin Collection (online, University of Florida); and the Hockliffe Collection (online, University of Bedfordshire), and such parts of the Opie collection in the Bodleian Library as Covid restrictions would permit. I have also made use of both Archive.org and the John Johnson Collection in the Bodleian Library. Each one of these archives was compiled by different people, for different purposes, and some are still being added to. The McGill Chapbook Collection, for example, states on its website that it was 'created from chapbooks that have been identified in three special collections in the Rare Books and Special Collections Library. New titles are being acquired and added to the collection' ('McGill Library Chapbook Collection: About the Collection'). As such, not only is this a collection that specifically examines chapbooks (from both Britain and North America, in contrast to this study, which only examines on British publications), but it makes no claims to being complete. The Baldwin Collection's website introduction likewise reads thus:

> The Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature in the Department of Special Collections at the University of Florida's George A. Smathers Libraries contains more than 115,000 volumes published in the United States and Great Britain from the mid-1600s to present day. The Library also has small holdings in manuscript collections, original artwork, and assorted ephemera such as board games, puzzles, and toys. The Baldwin Library is known for comparative editions of books, with special emphasis on Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, Aesop's Fables, and Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. The Library also has the largest collection of Early American Juvenile Imprints of any academic institution in the United States. ('Baldwin Library Historical Children's Book Collection: About')

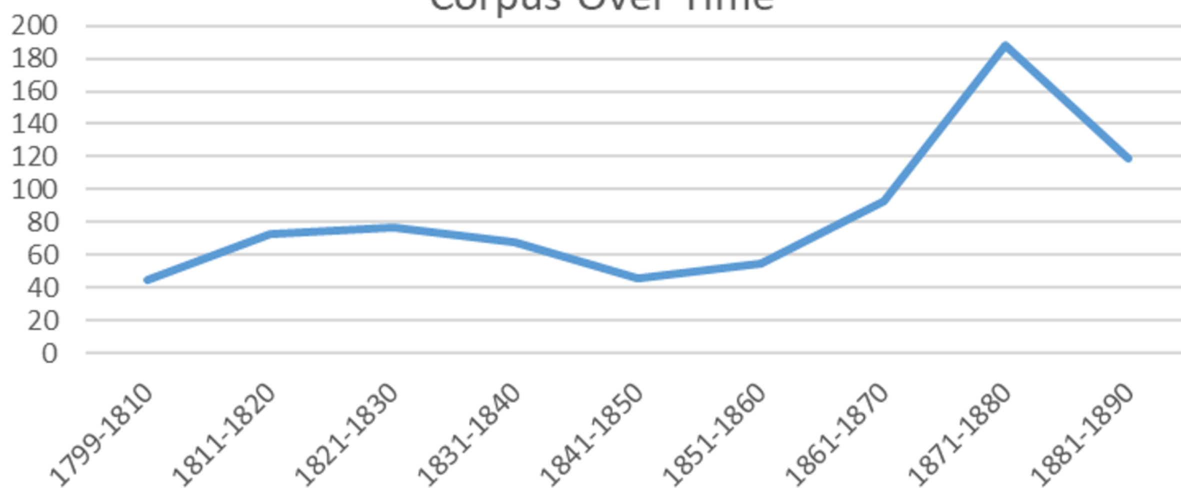
Not all of their texts have been made available online, and the vast quantity of texts from such a broad period across both the United States and Britain means that there is no focus on providing a representative sample of texts specifically from the nineteenth century. However, the sheer quantity of texts available offers a wide range of texts to examine, even if the Collection does not attempt to claim to be a representative sample. By contrast, the Hockliffe Collection, collected by Frederick Hockliffe (1833-1914), offers this introduction:

> The books in the Hockliffe Collection range in date from 1685 to the mid-twentieth century, although the majority were published between 1760 and 1840. The collection is not comprehensive, but it is representative of the wide range of writing for children in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and includes fables and nursery tales, books of instruction and religious works, spelling books, toy-books, and books with moveable parts. ('The Hockliffe Collection')

Unlike both McGill and Baldwin, then, the Hockliffe Collection is said to be representative of the kinds of texts available to children in the first half of the nineteenth century: although there

is, of course, no real way to verify that it succeeds in this, particularly as the Collection was put together by a single collector. The Opie Collection, being put together by Peter Opie and his wife Iona, faces the same criticism, but is a vast collection of over 20,000 works, despite their primary interest initially being in children's folklore, according to the Bodleian website ('Archive of Iona and Peter Opie: Collection Overview'). All of these different purposes, interests, and reasons for existence shape the biases of the information retained within each individual archive, thus limiting their abilities to offer 'representative' texts for children. However, the sheer quantity of texts available here, as well as the very different goals and purposes of these different archives, means that together they can offer an intriguing glimpse into the world of cheap nineteenth-century children's publishing, as long as these unavoidable limitations are remembered.

Not all of the texts listed in these archives have publication dates, and it is sometimes difficult to discern even a rough date of publication from digital copies. However, the texts that are dated show a steady increase in numbers over time, as shown in Figure 1.4, which is to be expected due to the increased output of printed texts over the course of the century as printing became cheaper, faster, and easier. This increase of texts over time within the corpus thus



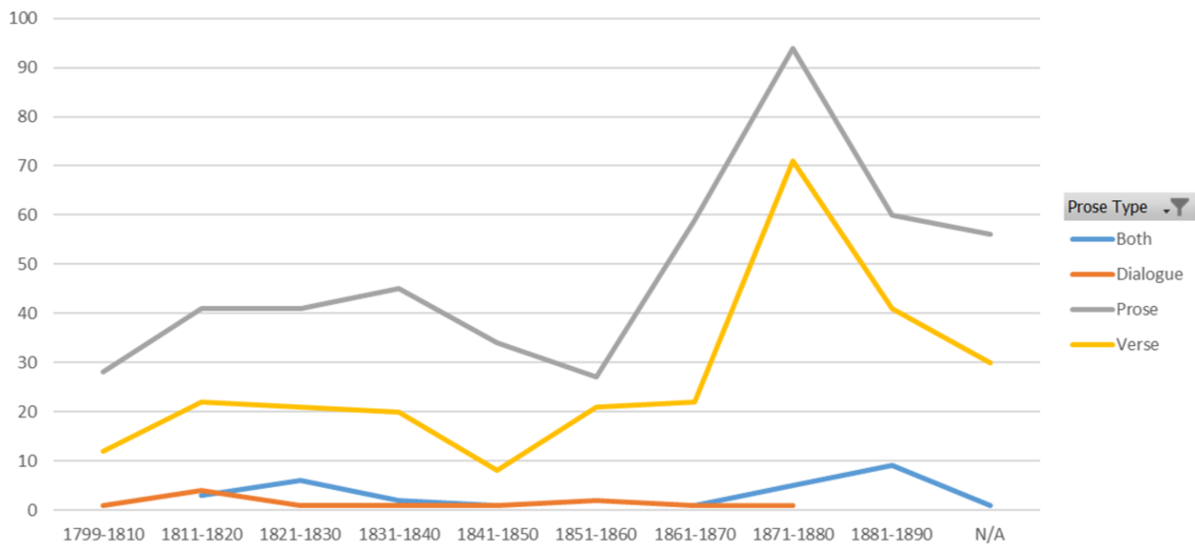
suggests that I have not only found texts from one part of the century, or an unrepresentative number from a specific decade, but rather a representative increase of output over the entire period. The only unusual feature of the data is the sudden drop in numbers of texts from 1881 to 1890. It is likely this is the product of two factors: first, because within the archives, texts printed in the latest parts of the century could have been attributed to the end of the century if there was no given date, which means that some of the texts that might have been printed in this decade were filed within the archive as having been produced after 1890. For example, texts marked in the archives as "c. 1890-1900" would not have been included in the corpus. Second, and more importantly, the last two decades of the nineteenth century saw an exponential increase in cheap serialised fiction for the young, the vast majority of which was not accessible within the online archives, either because they are only in the physical archives, or because they simply weren't preserved. This means that the numbers of texts I had access to drops off at the end of the century. This does not render the data from 1881-1890 invalid. I was still able to find and examine over 100 texts from the 1880s, which, as long as the absence of the majority of periodicals is accounted for, is still a large number of texts that can be perused for general trends.

A vast number of publishers were also included, from right across the century. There are around 200 publishers listed across the entire corpus, though it is difficult to be certain of exact numbers due to how often publisher names changed. Of these, 99 publishers listed have only one text attributed to them: that is, there is only one text in the archive produced by that particular publisher. Only nine publishers have 20 or more texts: Darton (though there were two separate Darton publishing houses); Dean (including all variations, such as Dean and Munday, and Dean and Son); F. Houlston and Son (based in Wellington, Salop, and later just Houlston and Son); Warne (including Frederick Warne & Co., Frederick Warne, and Warne and Sons); George Routledge (including, amongst others, Routledge and Co. and Routledge

and Sons); J. Kendrew (based in York); the RTS; and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (or SPCK). The vast majority of these were based in London. These numbers indicate the volatility of the cheap print market in the nineteenth century. The majority of publishers did not survive very long in the new and rapidly changing market for cheap children's texts. Of those that did, two were not-for-profit organisations – the RTS and the SPCK – and at least in the earlier parts of the century focused primarily on creating "improving" texts for the poor. Even so, that still leaves over 200 publishers who believed that there was profit to made selling cheaper texts for poorer readers, and several companies succeeded in doing so consistently. Indeed, some of these printers specialised in cheap texts, where others, like the Dartons, produced a variety of cheaper and more expensive works. Not only that, but the majority of these nine publishers were producing texts in the first half of the century. Darton published 13 works before 1860; Dean, 18; Houlston, 15; the RTS, 13; and the SPCK and T. Nelson and Sons both published 3. J. Kendrew has no texts printed after 1831. Warne and Routledge only produced texts after 1860. This indicates that, as uncertain as the market was, there was profit in selling cheaper children's texts across the century. Indeed, both the commercial and non-commercial publishers were still producing texts in the 1880s, suggesting that profit and the desire to "improve" poorer readers existed alongside each other right through the nineteenth century.

Publishers are not the only point of difference within these cheap texts: the style of writing used also varies significantly. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of texts are prose-based. However, there were a variety of writing styles in use. 501 texts are prose, where 277 are poetry. 28 use a mixture of prose and poetry; 28 are picture books with captions; 13 are dialogues; 7 are sermons and letters; a further 7 are plays; 5 are written music, and 5 are almanacs; there are 2 each of dialogue mixed with prose, and riddle verses, and 1 each of dialogue written as verse and mixtures of more than two prose types at once. Over 30% of the

Figure 1.3: Chart showing Prose Type in Corpus Over Time



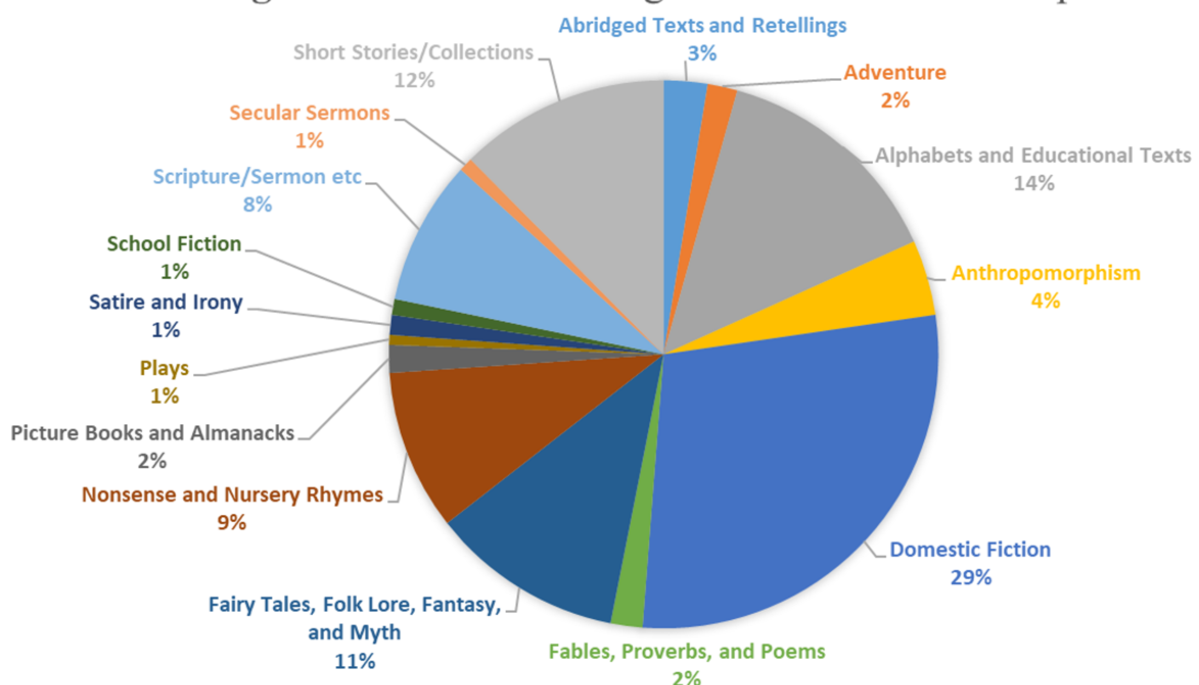
corpus is made up of texts using verse, with a further 28 texts mixing prose and verse together. Dialogue, including catechisms, pictures with captions, almanacs, written music, plays, riddles, and texts written as letters are also all present here. Such a variety of styles indicates the huge range of writing that comprised the cheaper children's market. This means that even if several texts were, for example, to represent the same ideas about a specific topic, they could potentially be doing so in multiple ways – through plays, through prose, through poetry, and so on. Even the same story, like retellings of fairy tales or Bible texts, can be framed very differently depending on the style of writing used to represent them.

Not only that, but there was a relatively even spread of most of these different formats across the century. Figure 1.4 below shows the genres of writing published in different decades of the nineteenth century. Even in the early decades, before the domination of the novel had taken over the more expensive parts of the publishing industry, the majority of cheaper children's texts being produced were still prose, and this remains true throughout the nineteenth century. However, the number of verse texts almost exactly mirrors the trends within prose, albeit with slightly fewer texts involved. This shows that the percentage of poetry texts

produced remained consistent across the century. Equally, the number of conversation-based texts stays almost constant from 1799 to 1880, showing that these catechism-style texts were still being produced even in later decades, even if they were overall a smaller percentage of what was being produced, as their numbers stay consistent while the number of texts being published overall increases. On the other hand, there is a gap in the number of picture texts with captions being produced in the middle of the century, suggesting that the movement from woodblock prints to cheap versions of coloured pictures in the later decades had a direct impact on picture-based books for the less expensive end of the market. In general, there is remarkable range and consistency in what was published over the course of the century, the most significant change coming with the first comic books in 1890.

The other major area to examine is the genres of text being produced. As Figure 1.4 below shows, there were a large number of genres produced for the cheap children's print market in the nineteenth century. Of these, the most numerous are domestic fiction texts (244), then alphabets and educational texts (119), short stories and collections (106), fairy tales, folklore, fantasy, and myth (97), nonsense and nursery rhymes (81), scriptures and sermons

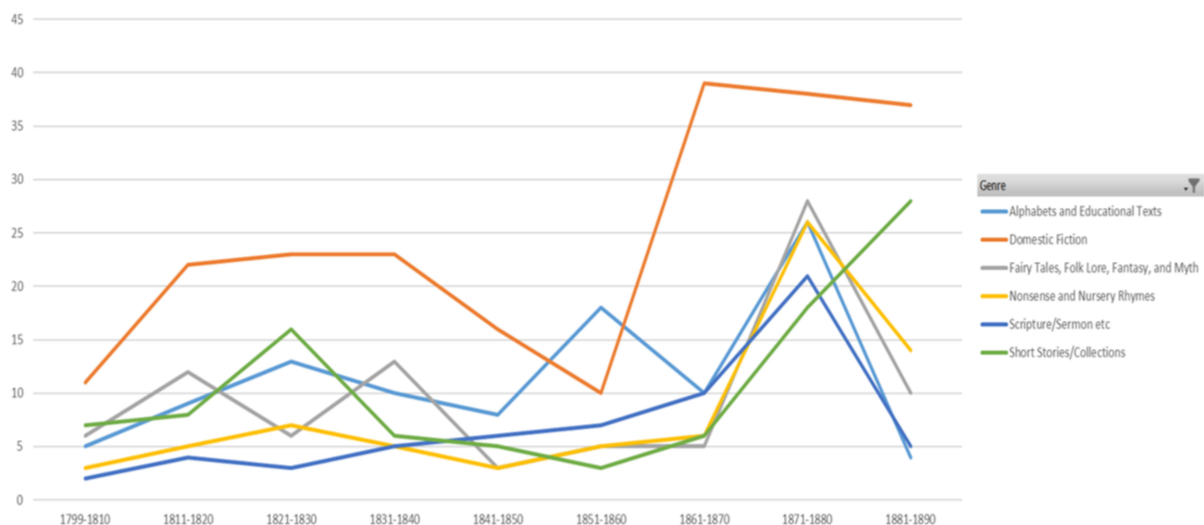
Figure 1.4: Chart showing Genres of Texts in Corpus



(73), anthropomorphic tales (38), and abridged stories and retellings (22). Writing styles are split across these genres – many of the nonsense and nursery rhymes are verse, for example. Most interesting, however, is the large number of alphabet texts, and retellings of fairy tales and nursery rhymes, which have often been overlooked by critics. This Figure alone shows that the texts previously identified as representative examples of nineteenth-century children's literature are not necessarily typical of the majority of texts produced. Rather, rewrites of older stories, fairy tales, sermons, and educational texts all need to be included in a study of cheap print for children, in order to gain a clear picture of what kinds of texts the majority of children actually had access to.

Given the continuities identified above, the most interesting patterns where genres are concerned show how what was published changed over time – or rather, did not change. Figure 1.5 shows the numbers of texts in the most common genres (domestic fiction; alphabets and educational texts; fairy tales, folklore, fantasy, and myth; nonsense and nursery rhymes; scriptures and sermons; and short stories and collections) across the nineteenth century. With the exception of a spike in alphabet and educational texts in the 1850s and a break in fairy tales, folklore, fantasy, and myth in the 1840s, most of these genres roughly follow the general

Figure 1.5: Chart showing Popular Genres in Corpus Over Time



pattern of the number of texts being published overall. The domestic genre is consistently the most common, and even the number of scriptures and sermons increases over time (although the percentage of the number of texts each decade being sermons or scripture does decrease towards the end of the century). There was, of course, a rise in serialised fiction, but many of these covered multiple genres, and these are counted in Figure 1.4 as 'Short Stories and Collections', because one magazine could contain any combination of poetry, short stories, chapters of longer stories, dialogues, domestic tales, adventure stories, letters, and sermons all at once. Once again, what is remarkable is the consistency: the same major genres are present across the nineteenth century, and the same domestic texts dominate in numbers throughout. Overall, there is no remarkable or marked shift in the kinds of texts being produced.

Together, the consistency across the genres represented, the steady increase in volume of texts overall, the kinds of texts being written, and the variation in publishers producing those texts, mean that any changes in precisely what these texts were discussing, or how they were representing different ideas, are not the result of the rise or fall of a specific genre, publisher, or prose type. Instead, they indicate a shift in thinking throughout the entire spectrum of the cheap children's publishing industry. Changes to how religion, gender, race, and social class were discussed within cheaper children's texts in the nineteenth century permeated the industry as a whole. At any one time, the wide variety of genres, publishers, and text types on the market indicates that any ideas that are present across all of these different kinds of texts must be regarded as particularly revealing of attitudes, anxieties, interests, and ideological motives on the part of the creators. These themes, then, and how they change over time, comprise the focus of this thesis and the new kind of history that it attempts to tell.

Ultimately, these charts paint a picture of an industry that, on the one hand grew rapidly despite being, as suggested by the number of publishers represented by only one or two texts, relatively unstable in terms of profits delivered. What was stable was the output in terms of

writing styles genres. This stability is significant because any shifts in representations of social norms occur, whether of gender, or race, or religion, and so on, are not the result of the rise (or fall) of a particular publisher, writing style, or genre. Instead, examinations across the different publishers and styles can therefore show where changes are consistent across the entire publishing industry. This means that any trends revealed in the chapters of this thesis are not tied to one specific disruption or change within cheap children's publishing, but rather are general changes in perception and representation of different ideas and norms over time.

Categorising the Texts

Before any argument can be constructed around the ways in which themes and social norms are presented within popular children's literature, however, it is necessary to define the parameters for how these texts present their moral, religious, or social lessons. The question of whether religious or moral teachings are present in a text raises several issues for defining boundaries: does 'content designed to instruct' include only those works that are overtly didactic, or can it include allegories? How far can it be assumed that moral and religious lessons are intertwined? Can any text that mentions a god, however casually, be called religiously didactic? What about texts that refer to the Church or authorities within the Church, but not directly to Christian doctrine? In summary, how are ideas of religion, race, social class, gender, and the fantastic presented?

For the purposes of this thesis, I have split the primary texts into four categories, or 'Types'. These categories, which I use throughout the thesis, stand thus:

Type A: Texts containing strongly religious themes throughout the story. These themes are overtly stated, either by the narrator or by at least one character. The texts may contain scriptural retellings, discuss conversion to Christianity, or consist of a moral story with clear religious justifications for the moral stated repeatedly and/or at considerable length, to the point where the religious ideas are presented as being inseparable from the moral that they are underpinning.

Type B: Texts containing clear moral themes throughout the story, with an aim to impart a specific, overtly stated lesson - or, alternatively, an obvious moral lesson layered in irony so that the reader understands the story when the narrator does not. These texts may contain one or two brief references to religion in passing, but such moments are not dwelt on and the moral is separable from any religious motifs. Texts in this category can also contain no religious references at all.

Type C: Texts that present a mostly secular story with no overtly stated overarching moral, but contain one or more references to religion, scripture, the Church, or Bible characters, either directly or through allegory. These references do not constitute significant parts of the plot. Ultimately, the existence of this category serves as one demonstration of the slippage between religious and secular thought.

Type D: Texts containing no overarching or overtly stated moral or religious lessons, or that treat such lessons satirically, and contain no passing references to religious ideas, themes, or characters.

In what follows, all discussions and charts referring to these categories are based on these definitions.

Type A texts are works that have a strongly and overtly stated religious focus throughout the text. The most obvious examples of this type are those works that directly quote or adapt pieces of scripture. However, this type also includes texts that either contain moments of conversion to Christianity and an explanation as to how conversion can and should be achieved, or else are moral stories with clear religious justifications for the moral that are stated repeatedly and/or at considerable length, either by the narrator or the characters, to the point where the religious themes are presented as being inseparable from the moral that they underpin. Examples of texts in this category are wide-ranging and vary greatly. For instance, an early example is a catechism published by F. Houlston and Son in 1818, *Two Dialogues with Children, on Keeping the Sabbath, and on Going to Church*. This non-fiction text maintains clear, didactic, religious teaching throughout, with question-answer pairs such as:

> Q. When the Scriptures are read, and the clergyman is preaching, what must you do?
>
> A. I must look towards the clergyman, and think, what I am hearing, is the *word of God*. God is speaking to me by it, for my instruction and salvation. (13, emphasis original)

Texts such as this where the overt didactic teachings never stray away from a religious focus are easy to recognise as containing religious lessons. In a similar way, a later example is a Religious Tract Society toy book, *The Children of the Bible* (c. 1852), that gives short retellings of Bible stories. The fact that the entire text is focussed on scripture retellings clearly places this later work into the same type bracket as *Two Dialogues*, despite them being of completely different genres and produced in completely different decades. A slightly different example is *Sarah Bell, and Fanny Blake: in Verse: shewing, how Every letter may be the Means of Putting a Good Thought into the Mind of a Child: Addressed to Sunday Scholars and Others* (n.d.). In

this story, Sarah tries to persuade a reluctant Fanny to come to school, but Fanny thinks that listening to Bible stories and learning the alphabet is boring in comparison to hearing secular stories and fairy tales. On being asked about her alphabet book, Fanny responds thus:

> "I think," said little FANNY BLAKE
> "It may be very good,
> "But, I had rather hear by half
> "The Children in the Wood." (11)

Despite Fanny's protest here outlining concerns that non-religious texts are distracting children from learning Christian values, Sarah slowly, over the course of multiple sessions, teaches Fanny her alphabet and her Bible by linking every letter to a religious lesson. In the end, Sarah concludes her lessons with Z, saying

> This crooked letter is the last;
> Let Z, then, mark the ZEAL,
> For every high and holy thing,
> The Christian ought to feel. (60)

Having successfully intertwined the alphabet and Christianity, Sarah convinces Fanny to join her at school, and Fanny becomes a good student and committed Christian. The text serves both as a demonstration of teaching methods (Sarah stops when Fanny grows tired, and works to entice her by making the lessons interesting rather than threatening her with punishment) and also on how to encourage a child to take an interest in religious matters and, hence, towards conversion. As such, despite the fact that this is a fictional work about a child teaching another child to read, this work falls firmly into the category of a Type A text.

The other group within this category comprises moral stories with clear religious underpinnings, and this section too contains a wide range of genres across every decade from

1799 to 1890. Earlier examples include an 1832 publication from Houlston and Son, *The Singular and Extraordinary Adventures of Poor Little Bewildered Henry, who was Shut Up in the Old Abbey for Three Weeks*. In this story, Henry is tricked by a cruel older boy into believing that his mother is in the woods, and gets lost looking for her. The older boy, Bill Boldface, leaves for America the next day and so cannot confess his sin, leaving Henry's parents frantically searching for him, even as they console themselves with their faith in God. The woodland animals befriend him, and each day the family dog brings him food. One day, Henry's father sees the dog leaving and follows her to Henry. The family rejoices in God's provision through His creatures, and Henry grows into a good Christian. The tale concludes with a long and careful explanation from the narrator, who asks the reader to

> reflect on the goodness of God so powerfully displayed in this little story. You see how he directed Fidelle [the dog] to bring food for the support of his little baby; you see how wonderfully he was preserved and how, at length, he was restored to his parents. Those parents were truly religious, and *therefore* their prayers were heard. (27)

The goodness and provision of God despite human failure (from Bill Boldface) is emphasised throughout, and clearly stated in the ending, leaving no room for doubt that religious ideas are a key component of this story. Indeed, the moral itself is framed as being concerned with the need to believe and trust in God, and so cannot be separated from the religious message of the text in any way. This is relatively unusual, however: most stories within this category do have a separate moral.

A more typical example of this type of text is *Peter and Willy*, published by the RTS in the 1870s. In this story, Willy is cruel to orphaned Peter, who is 'simple' and easily frightened of the cleverer boys. The narrator remarks in the introduction of the story that '[i]t is a shameful thing that the cruel boys would often laugh at and mock this poor child. In his alarm, he used

to cling fast to his mother's side, as they walked along, lest he should be hurt by them' (1-2). The moral message is thus made clear from page one: it is wrong to be cruel to less able children. But religious themes are also introduced early on, and are integral to the turning point in the plot. After Peter is orphaned, Willy's parents take him in, and then Willy becomes so ill that the household fears that he will die. Peter, despite his struggle with words, prays long and earnestly for Willy every day, begging that he be spared until after he is 'made good' (4-5). Willy overhears Peter's prayers, and repents of his cruelty. He recovers, and once he is well he becomes Peter's defender and champion. In fact, he protects Peter for the rest of his life, feeling that he owes Peter for his very soul. So despite the fact that the text is not so much a primer on how to convert someone as a work that focuses on the fact that Willy is convicted of wrongdoing by Peter's kindness, and the way that moral conviction is utterly tied up in Willy and Peter's Christian faith. Willy only changes because of Peter's faith, and he is only able to do good because he gains a new, 'real' faith for himself. The emphasis, in the end, remains firmly on the religious aspects of the tale.

This does not, however, mean that all popular texts for children that explored moral lessons linked moral ideas so clearly to religious thought, and it is this fact that creates the need for a recognition that morality and moral debates within children's fiction could exist outside of strong, overt religious content. For this discussion, these texts fall into the 'Type B' category. Type B includes texts with strong moral themes throughout the story, with an apparent aim to impart a specific and stated lesson. These texts may contain one or two passing references to religion or to God, but such moments are not dwelt upon, and the moral can be clearly understood within the story as being separate from religious beliefs or justifications. Equally, some Type B texts contain no references to religion at all. An early example of such a text is *The Lion's Masquerade: a Sequel to the Peacock at Home*, from 1808 (a contribution to the '*papillonade*' genre that flourished in the early nineteenth century, following William Roscoe's

1805 *Butterfly Ball and Grasshopper's Feast*). There are two layers of moral discussion in this text. The first concerns brief moments of ridiculing or praising specific professions or types of people. To this end, every animal invited to the masquerade is pointedly connected to human caricatures or titles. For example:

> The *Greyhound* as *Vanity* holding a glass,
>
> The *Stag*, as *Aeteon*; *King Midas*, the *Ass*.
>
> And next then a dullen, and obstinate *Mule*,
>
> As a *Dunce*, who had just been expell'd from his school.
>
> The *Mastiff* a brave *English Sailor* appear'd,
>
> No friend he betray'd, and no enemy fear'd. (10)

Clearly, the reader is supposed to agree that only 'stubborn mules' become dunces, and that English sailors never betray their friends or fear their enemies. However, this first layer does not provide any overarching lesson or main, stated moral concept to take away from the text. Instead, that is provided by the second layer, which shows itself through the Lion's speech. The Lion bemoans the revelries of humans, and convinces all of the other animals to prove themselves superior to the human race by going home early instead of allowing the party to continue on until it has the potential to get out of hand:

> '"In the *feathered race* here an example we find,
>
> "Far better than that which is set by *Mankind*.
>
> "How oft have their galas a tragical end,
>
> "One loses a mistress, another a friend' (15)

The moral is clear: masquerades and other similar evening entertainments are by nature dangerous to fallen humans, and should be treated with caution, if attended at all, and this moral has no connection whatsoever to any religious considerations or even references to God. This lesson connects all of the behaviour of the animals, resulting in an extended speech from the

Lion before the masquerade is ended, that places this text in the Type B category. Interestingly, there is a third message taught throughout the text: the superiority of the English is espoused at every moment. Alongside the English sailor mastiff is the Lioness, who is dressed as Britannia, to whom all of the other animals sing 'Rule Britannia' before going home. What is to be understood by this is never clear, particularly in terms of how it connects to the overt moral of the text, which states that humans in general set a bad example in comparison to the animal world. Even so, the focus on English songs and symbols implies an exception, or at least that if any group of people can rise above such things it would be the English. Regardless, however, the fact remains that the stated moral is treated with considerable gravity, and so places this text firmly into the Type B category.

Another anthropomorphic Type B text *is The Trial of an Ox, for Killing a Man* (1830), where an ox is brought before an animal judge and jury to consider his sentencing for killing his owner. It transpires that the ox was so badly abused that he lost his mind and killed in desperation. The other animals all complain of the prevalence of human cruelty, and the tiger judge clears the ox of all charges, crying:

> Tis amazing that mankind should complain of cruelty in animals, when their own minds are productive of such scenes of inhumanity: Are not the Ox and other creatures murdered for their emolument? Are not we hunted for their amusement, as well as the Stag and the Hare? Are not the bees burnt, and their houses plundered for their use? (14-15)

The lesson to take from the story is unavoidable: cruelty to animals is wrong, and animals reacting to that cruelty should not be condemned for it. Once again, there is no mention of God, Christianity, religion, or any higher power at any point in the story. The animals simply state that cruelty is wrong without attempting to justify why that is. Anthropomorphic tales from the

first few decades of the century are not the only examples of such works: Miss Corner's short story, *Careless James; or, The Box of Toys: in Words of One Syllable*, published by Dean and Son c.1857-1866, covers the same idea. James does not look after his toys, and when he wants a new toy house, his mother agrees to give it to him if he will promise to look after it, but if he spoils it she will never give him a present again. James gradually damages and loses parts of the toy until it is unusable, and his mother buys a beautiful toy boat for a neighbouring boy who looks after his things, and does not buy anything for James. Even here, much later in the century, the same themes of a stated moral that guides and arches across the entire story are clear. Once again, there is no outright mention of God or Christianity throughout the text, which instead presents the mother character as the provider of justice. Throughout the century Type B texts with strong, overt morals but little to no religious discussions continue to be published and sold in steady numbers, even if they were less common than Type A texts.

The next category, Type C texts, contain works that are mostly secular with no overtly stated overarching moral (but without considering whether there might be an underlying

PRAYERS.

O Lord, bless me, papa and mamma, grandpapa and grandmamma, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, and all mankind, for Christ's sake. Amen.

Pray God make me a good child, and take me to Heaven when I die, for Christ's sake. Amen.

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A B C D
E F G H
I J K L
M N O P
Q R S T
U V W
X Y Z &

ab ad ef fi fo
an en ic ud on
to by me ot ub
ba at oc ta so
my um ri id od

go in to | so it is
we go in | if it be
is it he | go on ox
he is by | he is in

dog got cat fat
fog map pot day
fig god eye pig
arm not leg toy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

Figure 1.6: Image of *The Good Child's Alphabet* (J. W. Bowden, no date, no price). Showing the inside cover flap and first two pages of the primer.

message, as of course almost all texts, particularly for children, can be argued to have some form of implicit teaching). Such texts do contain one or more brief references to religion, scripture, the Church, or Bible characters, either directly or through allegory, but these moments do not constitute significant parts of the plot, and the story can be understood without them. One example of such a text is *The Good Child's Alphabet*, published by J. W. Bowden (n.d.). As Figure 1.6 shows, the text contains an alphabet, and a set of syllables and short words, printed in what has become know as the 'battledore' format. Attached to the flap that closes over the cover, however, is a short prayer. Nothing connected to anything else in the text is religious, and it is clearly a reference to or echo of older primers that contained a catechism and the Lord's Prayer, but it is the only overtly religious moment in the text, and is attached to the cover rather than properly integrated into the alphabet lesson. It could be understood that the prayer is therefore intended to set the tone for the rest of the text, but equally it could easily be dismissed or overlooked without changing anything about the alphabet or short words presented at all.

A more typical example of a Type C alphabet *is The Child's Instructor; or, Picture Alphabet* (1815), which is completely secular in its focus, and includes letter descriptions such as 'fa fe fi fo fu A Fid-dler is a per-son who plays on a fid-dle or a vi-o-lin' (10). There are no references to religion at all except for a brief mention that 'Ze-no was a hea-then philo-so-pher who be-came a Chris-tian' until the very end of the text, when the narrator concludes that 'A bad boy and a bad girl are in a bad way, and fear not God nor man. A good boy and a good girl will do no ill, nor go with bad boys and bad girls' (32, 33). That is all that the text contains in terms of references to religion, and it is not really possible to claim that the text has a truly religious 'focus' or 'intention' on the basis of such short throw away comments. Instead, these moments serve as a demonstration of one way in which the religious and the secular are intertwined, without a clear unbreakable line between them. Indeed, the whole purpose of

teaching the poor to read was, the Evangelicals argued, to give them access to biblical scriptures, and so even more secular educational texts could be argued to be connected to such an aim. In this way, casual moments of religious reflection can be found in otherwise secular texts, indicating a slippage between the two ideas. And such slippage is not unique to the early decades of the 1800s, but rather is present throughout the century: in 1883, Marcus Ward & Co. published *London Town,* which contains a mixture of poetry and prose that discuss different things to see in London, ranging from popular tourist destinations to street sellers. Most of it is secular with a fairly light-hearted tone, such as a poem about a baby and nurse wanting to go into the British Museum:

> But poor Baby finds, alas,
>
> That his little hopes have flitted,
>
> For the nasty notice says
>
> "Babes in arms are not admitted." (25)

However, there is one poem discussing an orphanage that connects philanthropic endeavour to religious motivations, saying

> But "Our Father" who gives their "daily bread"
>
> To all of His creatures, caused kindly men
>
> To build this home for famishing babes
>
> From many a poverty-stricken den. (42)

As before, this is the only reference to God throughout the text, and although it serves to link the work of the philanthropists to religious piety, it does not form a major component of the discussion of the sights of London. Instead, it exists as another moment in which, even as far on in the century as the 1880s, there is a casual reference to religion within a secular text, demonstrating that there is no hard boundary between the secular and the religious. Indeed, the alphabets discussed above that set up an implicit connection between the secular and the

religious through religious references at the beginning of the text enforce this same conclusion: the religious and the secular were not two separate things, but rather assumed to be inseparably interconnected to one another. This connection means that in the end, Type C texts are not less significant to a discussion about religion in nineteenth-century children's literature than Type A texts, but rather serve to demonstrate the blurred lines between Type A texts and all other texts being considered in this study.

The last category of texts to be considered make up Type D, meaning they have no overarching or overtly stated moral or religious themes, or else these themes are presented in a highly satirical fashion, and there are no overt references to religious motifs. Examples in this category include *The Cries of Banbury and London, and Celebrated Stories* published by J. G. Rusher in 1840, which contains a series of unconnected two verse poems. The first verse connects to the illustration on the page, and the second is usually a well-known nursery rhyme. Most of the text is a precursor to nonsense poetry, containing stanzas such as

> Come, Jenny, good spinner,
> Come down, to your dinner,
> And taste the leg of a fly;
> Then all you good people,
> Look near the Church steeple,
> And see a good boy who don't cry. (4)

There is no clear moral, and no references to religious teachings (and the Church steeple mentioned here is not connected to any religious figures or practices, but rather merely exists as part of the landscape). And while this text and many others within the Type D category avoid moral or religious discussions, some Type D texts seem to be actively working against a possible moral lesson. Two examples of this are a pair of separate retellings of Aladdin. The first is *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* published by A. Cuthrie (n.d.), and *Webb, Millington,*

& Co.'s Penny Pictorial Library: Aladdin, published by Dean & Son and J. S. Publishing and Stationery Co. Ltd. (n.d.). Both texts emphasise Aladdin's bad character. A. Guthrie's text notes that

> When Aladdin grew up, his father wished to teach him his own trade, but Aladdin would learn nothing, and at last Mustapha was so grieved by his son's bad conduct, that he became ill and died in a few months. Aladdin would do nothing to help his mother, but left her to work for her own support, and vexed her sadly by his evil habits. (3)

Likewise, the Dean and J. S. Publishing text states that

> When the boy was old enough to learn a trade, his father took him to his own work-shop; but Aladdin, having been brought up in a very careless manner, loved play more than work, neglecting his business, and frequenting the company of all sorts of idle boys and vagabonds. His father dying when he was yet very young, he spent his whole time in the streets, and his poor mother was obliged to spin cotton night and day to procure a sufficiency of the coarsest fare for their support. (3)

But afterwards, both texts go on to describe Aladdin's adventures, including much underhanded trickery in order to marry the princess and, eventually, rule the kingdom, without Aladdin ever experiencing a single moment of repentance. In fact, it is his boldfaced lies and tricks that lead to his triumph. Aladdin wins precisely because he fails to conform to any moral standards, and is never punished or even seriously remonstrated with over his behaviour. In fact, many secular fairy tales across the entire nineteenth century follow a similar format, as will be examined in Chapter 5. In the end, Type D texts are a mixture of works that simply show a lack of interest in religious queries, and those which appear to openly defy expectations around moral and/or religious teachings within children's books.

The four categories presented here allow a degree of flexibility and subtlety and greater precision when approaching these texts a simple dichotomy of 'religious' versus 'secular' would be able to offer. In this way, it is possible to examine these texts for general trends in the ways in which ideas around morality, religion, and thus lessons in how people are expected to behave, including where those expectations are affected by gender, race, or social class. It would, however, be absurd to claim that all cheap children's texts throughout the nineteenth century fits neatly into each of these four groups. There is a degree to which any attempts at creating binaries within and between texts are inherently futile, and this exercise is no exception: there were texts produced throughout the century that do not lend themselves to any simple form of categorisation. The most obvious example of a group of such texts is those that contain a series of short stories, or poems, or a mixture of the two, with different themes or focuses within each story that do not necessarily connect together. The list of examples of the kind of text that cannot easily be categorised includes titles such as: *The Band of Hope and Children's Friend, April 1st, 1857*; *The Tiny Library: A Weekly Journal for the Entertainment and Instruction of Young Persons* (1846); *Picture Books for Little Children: Picture Lessons in Verse* (n.d.); Robert Ellice Mack's *Christmas Rose*, (illustrated by Lizzie Lawson Mack, 1887); *Little Wide-Awake: A Coloured Magazine for Good Children. New Series.* (n.d.); Julia Horatia Ewing's *Verse Books for Children: A Sweet Little Dear* (illustrated by R. Andre, n.d.); *Aunt Mavor's Everlasting Toy Books: The Picture Alphabet*. (n.d.: probably after 1860); and *Moral Tales in Verse: Calculated to Please and Instruct Young Children* (c.1822-1824). One typical example is *Picture Books for Little Children: Picture Lessons in Verse*, published by the RTS, which contains a mixture of moral and religious poems. Some poems, like 'The Bee Hive', are secular with a stated moral, containing lines such as

> The bee safe lodged within her cell,
>
> Which she in summer stored so well;

With food supplied, from cold preserved,

Enjoy'd the comforts she deserved.

Ah then [sic] thought I, 'tis best for me

To imitate the careful bee. (‘The Bee Hive’, 5)

But other poems, like ‘The Little Cripple’, and ‘The New Bible’, have a distinctly religious focus. For example:

I'm a helpless crippled child;

Gentle Christians, pity me;

Once in rosy health I smiled,

Blithe and gay as you may be. (‘The Little Cripple’, 13)

or

"Lovest thou me?"

Hark, I hear my saviour speak,

To me, so very young and weak,

With a tender voice and mild,

"Dost thou love me, little child?" (‘Question and Answer’, 15)

In short, depending on the poem, this poetry collection can be categorised as either a Type A or a Type B text. This is the most typical example of the difficulties with some short story and poetry collections, and determining the best method by which to treat such texts is not a simple process. I have chosen to place such texts in the type category that fits the majority of the short works within the text. That is to say, if a poetry collection contains more poems that fit into Type B than Type A, that is how the work will be categorised – unless, for some reason, the Type A poems dominate the text, either by length, or be being referred back to in the other poems. Although this method does not reflect the content of every poem or short story within these texts, and it must be acknowledged that they are a demonstration of the slippage and

blurred borders between Type A and Type B, categorising the texts in this manner allows for the focus of Type A and Type B to continue to be placed on the definition of these categories revolving around having overt, *overarching* religious or moral lessons attached to them. An 'overarching' lesson is not possible with a series of apparently unconnected short stories or verses, but overlying themes of morality or religiosity can still occur. As such, categorising these texts based on a Type that reflects the majority of the short stories and poems within them allows for an acknowledgement of these themes in a way that placing them as Type C texts would not permit.

One atypical example of a text with different sections falling under different categories is *The History of Little King Pippin, with an Account of the Melancholy Death of Four Naughty Boys, who were Devoured by Wild Beasts, and the Wonderful Delivery of Master Harry Harmless, by a little White Horse* (n.d.: probably c, 1800-1840). The primary story focusses on Pippin, who studies hard despite not having much money for books, is sponsored through school where the other boys love him, and on graduating goes to sea, gets shipwrecked, is rescued, and acquits himself so well at his new job that the islanders convince their king to make Pippin his heir. Pippin's story does not contain any religious motifs or themes, and fall clearly into the Type B category, teaching that if the reader were to study hard at school, then they will do well in life. However, the middle third of the text – between Pippin having been accepted by the other school boys and then graduating – contains a section about another school boy, Harry Harmless. Harry, like Pippin, works hard at his book, but he is also religious and carefully learnt to say his prayers. When he and four badly behaved classmates get lost, the other boys are killed, but Harry is spared. The narrator explains that

> Harry, justly concluding, that those naughty boys who had so totally neglected their duty to their Creator, could have no claim whatever to his protection, thought he should be in more safety alone than in such wicked company, therefore moved to a distance

from them, and kneeled down to pray by himself; and he had not left them but a few minutes before two monstrous lions came and devoured every one of them. (20)

Setting the questionable theology to one side, this central section of the text creates a major difficulty for categorisation. The first and last sections of the text, which are focussed on the titular character, may contain no religious references, but this substantial side plot placed right into the centre of the tale is strongly religious. As with some of the alphabets in Type C, it could be argued that Harry's goodness being linked both to the fact that he works hard in school and is a Christian implies that Pippin, who is also good and works hard in school, is also a Christian, but this is never overtly stated, or even addressed. In fact, the whole central section reads almost as if it were added after the main story had been written, either to increase the word count or create a new edition of the text. As before, because the majority of the text (and the parts of the text that are concerned with the titular character) is secular, I have placed it in the Type B category. Once again, however, the existence of this kind of text requires an acknowledgement of the fact that the borders between categories are blurred and, in some instances, relatively indefinite.

A similar level of blurring applies to four texts that contain moral, secular stories followed by a religious poem at the end. These texts are: *Coloured Toy Books: The Story of a Pie* (published by the RTS, 1878); *The Squirrels* (SPCK, c. 1862-1878); *The Victoria Tales and Stories: The Little Word "No"* (published by Frederick Warne & Co., n.d.); and *The Name on the Rock* (RTS, n.d.). *The Story of a Pie* is about a little girl who bakes a pie for her siblings when her mother is unwell, and concludes with a poem on the lambs of Christ. *The Squirrels* is about a squirrel who disobeys his mother and is permanently crippled as a result, with an end poem about fighting the battle of Faith. The story in *The Little Word "No"* revolves around a boy, Thomas, whose father warns him that he will sometimes struggle to say 'no' when necessary through an anecdote from his own childhood when he reluctantly turned down an

invitation to go fishing after being forbidden by his father, only for the man who invited him to drown because he had been drinking. Thomas listens to his father's story, but when he grows up and moves to the city, he finds it hard to refuse to go out drinking with his work colleagues. He eventually works up the courage to say 'no' when they try to convince him to gamble, and later discovers that they had been trying to trick him into falling into debt with them. The end poem is about the allegorical female character of the Church, containing such lines as

> In her right hand there gleamed
>
> The Spirit's awful sword;
>
> And at her side in glory beamed
>
> The symbols of the Lord (16)

and

> In solemn majesty
>
> She stood; the clouds beneath
>
> Were rolled onward, noiselessly,
>
> By the Almighty's breath. (16)

The final story, *The Name on the Rock*, is about a little boy, William, who wants to carve his name on a piece of cliff rock higher than anyone else's name is. He gets stuck and has to be rescued by his father and his friends. The narrator warns that people always want to put their own names higher than anyone else's, but that this only ever leads them into danger. The poem on the back cover of the text focusses on Jesus as the Good Shepherd, and concludes that

> With thy counsel thou shalt guide me,
>
> O thou Shepherd of the flock;
>
> Safe from every tempest hide me,
>
> Fix'd upon the Living Rock. (back cover)

With the exception of when William's father briefly assures him that 'we are praying for you', all of these stories are entirely secular in their focus, with no references to religious teachings to underpin the moral lessons (*The Name on the Rock* 4). However, where in the first three texts, the topic of the poem has no connection whatsoever to the story that precedes it, *The Name on the Rock* continues to explore the 'Rock' as a metaphor, this time focussing on the Christian allegory of Christ as the Rock. This difference means that, while the first three texts can easily be classed as Type B, *The Name on the Rock* requires a slightly different approach. Like the Type C alphabets discussed above, the moment of religious discussion implies a connection between the religious and the secular sections of the text. Unlike the alphabets, however, *The Name on the Rock* actually reads slightly differently when these religious considerations are taken into account. When read through the lens of viewing the Rock as Jesus Christ, and thus connecting William's desire to carve his name on it to Isaiah 49:16 ('See, I have engraved you on the palms of my hands', NIV), carving his name on the rock becomes a metaphor for belonging to the people of God – and so wanting his name higher than all other names is not merely a moral conundrum, but a serious sin. None of this is stated outright in the body of the text, but the end poem is explicit in discussing Jesus as the Rock. It must of course be conceded that these connections are implicit; however, the explicit religious references create a foundation upon which the moral lesson of the story is understood, just as in the moral stories with religious underpinnings that are classed as Type A texts. In this way, *The Name on the Rock* can also be understood as belonging within the Type A category. Despite the fact that these four texts are ostensibly offering the same balance of religious and moral instruction, the way in which those forms of instruction are presented as being interconnected differs to such an extent that *The Name on the Rock* is in fact placed in a different category.

There are also a number of texts whose titles do not necessarily appear to reflect their content. Despite clearly referring to Easter in the title, *The Easter Gift: Being a Useful Toy for*

Little Miss and Master to Learn their ABC (published by J. Catnach, 1825) is a moral text that does not reference Christianity. Likewise, the second text is titled *The Peace Egg; or, St George's Annual Play: For the Amusement of Youth* (published by J. Harkness, 1845), and yet does not appear to have any particular moral or religious instruction within it, despite St George and the Devil being characters; indeed, it does not even seem to be particularly suited to children, despite being clearly labelled as being *for Youth*. The next example is *The Alphabet of Christian Morals* (published by Darton and Son, n.d.), which despite its proclamation of containing specifically 'Christian' morals makes no reference to faith at all, but rather contains lines such as

> Envy none for their wealth,
>
> Nor honor [sic], nor health (4)

and

> Xcuse only with truth,
>
> The faults of your youth. (10)

The last example is *True Courage; or, Heaven Never Forsakes the Innocent* (published by F. Houlston and Son, n.d.), which tells the story of a falsely accused slave who escapes from being executed when a mob attacks, flees to the mountains, is captured by a lion, kills the lion, his lioness, and their cubs, and then on the spot where they were killed builds a traveller's inn. There is no mention of Christianity throughout the tale, and no obvious or explained moments of divine intervention. In fact, there does not even really appear to be much of a moral aside from the fact that he was innocent and escaped – although these two things are never presented as being directly connected to each other. Without the title, the text would read as a straight forward work of adventure fiction. Put simply, this means that these works mostly follow the Type C pattern discussed above in the way that a small reference to Christianity made early in the text could then be used to change the perspective of the rest of the text - for example, the

title *Heaven Never Forsakes the Innocent* implies that the text should be understood as a demonstration of the outworking of God's will, not of human endeavour and a series of happenstances - but the title is the only reference to faith made throughout, and the connection is never explicitly explained anywhere in the text, or even in an end poem as with *The Name on the Rock*. As such, with the exception of *The Alphabet of Christian Morals*, which has been placed in Type B as an example of a moral text with a throwaway Christian reference, all of the texts in this group have been included in the Type C category. The titles may imply a religious connection, possibly as a way to entice adult purchasers to buy them for children, but are still only a brief reference to religion in otherwise secular texts. Once again, the existence of the style of text serves to demonstrate the slippage between the secular and the religious - and the marketability of texts with overtly religious titles.

The final and most difficult collection of texts to categorise are those texts that employ satire or layers of irony around moral or religious discussions. Examples of this kind of text include: *The School-Boy's Recreation* (published C. Facer, 1835); Charles Henry Bennett's *Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: The Sad History of Greedy Jem and all his Little Brothers* (published Routledge, 1865); Julia Horatia Ewing's *Verse Books for Children: A Sweet Little Dear and Verse Books for Children, Second Series: Dolls' Housekeeping* (published SPCK, n.d.: probably after 1860); William Harry Roger's *Ice-Peter, with Explanatory Verses* and *The Naughty Boys of Corinth, with Explanatory Verses* (published Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1868); and *The Adventures of the Old Woman of Stepney* (published S. S. Forney, 1859). For example, Ewing's *A Sweet Little Dear* is told from the point of view of a little girl whose mother has bad health. It is clear that the little girl does not really understand the events around her, and that she is badly spoilt. The only adult who ever scolds her is Nurse, who the narrator quotes as saying:

> "But there's more children spoilt with care than the want of it, and more mothers murdered than there's folks hanged for it, and that's what I say. Children learns [sic] what you teach 'em, and Miss Jane's old enough to have learned to wait upon you. And if her mother thought less of her and she thought more of her mother, it would be better for her too." But Nurse is a hasty cross thing - I hate her. (13)

Jane sweeps Nurse's assertions away, choosing instead to focus on remembering adults who praise her, such as the clergyman's wife who, she recalls, said that she was 'a sacred responsibility to my parents [...] And a solemn charge, and a fair white page, and a tender bud, and a spotless nature of wax to be moulded - but the rest of it has gone out of my head' (6-7). In the end, Jane concludes that

> I shouldn't like to die early, but I should like people to be sorry for me, and to praise me when I was dead. If I could only come to life again when they had missed me very much, and I'd hear what they said. Of course that's impossible, I know, but I wish I knew what to do instead! It seems such a pity that a sweet little dear like me should ever be sad. (29)

Throughout the text, these quotations make the moral of the story almost inescapable: little girls who always get what they want and are fussed over by every stranger that they come across end up discontented and self-centred, unable to feel happiness either for themselves or for others. But because this lesson is never understood by the first person child narrator, it is never overtly stated, except by the dismissed Nurse. So while a clear, recognisable moral referred to directly by one of the characters exists throughout the text, the layers of irony employed mean that the moral is never made truly explicit in a way that the narrator complies with. Another, more pointed, example is *Cat and Mouse, with Explanatory Verses*, about a

mouse who successfully escapes from a cat, with two illustrations with little verse captions on each page. The final page, however, concludes:

> WELL, children, I suppose that we shall quarrel,
> If to my story I don't tag a moral;
> So here it is: that nothing is so rich in
> Mishaps as having an untidy kitchen.
> Lanterns should be rather on shelves than on floors,
> And trousers never should be dried indoors.
> Don't leave the blacking-pot too near your clothes,
> And keep your boots well mended at the toes. (15)

While it is true that 'keep the kitchen tidy' is a practical and possibly moral lesson, this moral has next to nothing to do with the text. In fact, the mouse's triumphant escape was only due to the hole in the boot meaning that it got stuck on the cat's head while the mouse escaped, so if the boot was mended, the mouse would have been killed, so for the story to have the same happy ending, the moral cannot be obeyed. As well as this, the moral is presented in such a lacklustre way, with the narrator stating that he has to include a moral, that it is not taken seriously.

In fact, all of the other texts in the *Explanatory Verses* series, as well *as The School-Boy's Recreation, The Sad History of Greedy Jem*, and *The Adventure of the Old Woman of Stepney* all present similar dilemmas: the moral is either so at odds with the story that it cannot be considered as a true aim of the text, or else the situations are so absurd that the moral cannot be taken seriously. The boys in *Greedy Jem*, for instance, suffer a variety of ridiculous punishments such as being made flat or being fired out of a cannon, as shown in image two below, so the supposed lessons of the text also appear to be ridiculous alongside the ridiculous

Figure 1.7: Image of *Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: The Sad History of Greedy Jem and all his Little Brothers* (George Routledge and Sons, c. 1865, price 6d). Showing illustrations of 'Truant Tom', who refused to go to school and therefore turned into a scarecrow.

punishments, designed to entertain rather than to truly teach anything. The text exists more as a satirical commentary on earlier moral tales than as a serious moral text in its own right.

In other words, then, these texts fall into two groups. The first consists of Ewing's *Verse Tales* that have a clear and recognisable moral that is neither overtly stated nor dismissed because the child narrator does not understand it. The second consists of texts that satirise the moral tale form itself. This second group can be placed decisively into the Type D category, as the overtly discussed moral of the tale is not in fact an actual teaching of the text. But the *Verse Tales* do not fit so neatly here: rather, because the morals run throughout the works, are clearly understood, and are sometimes overtly stated by one of the characters (such as the Nurse in *Sweet Little Dear*), these texts belong to the Type B category. The differences lie in the representation of understanding: in the *Verse Tales*, the moral is treated seriously, despite being mostly unspoken; in the other satirical works, the moral is overtly stated, but never presented in a manner that encourages serious contemplation. As a result, these two groups of texts should not be placed in the same category type, despite appearing to approach their subject matter with a similar employment of ironic and satirical presentations.

In the end, while dividing these popular children's texts into categories based on their use of religious, moral, and secular material creates a workable method through which to understand and explore them, the slippage between these categories and the blurred boundaries surrounding them must be acknowledged. Nevertheless, for the purpose of analysis across a substantial corpus, the exercise of dividing up the texts is necessary and worthwhile. The categories allow for a closer examination of general trends in discussing religion and morality within the popular publishing industry across the whole of the nineteenth century in a way that exploring these texts ad hoc, without any binaries, would simply not permit. Despite their limitations, then, these categories present a useful lens through which to examine and understand the vast quantities of popular children's works in a controlled and manageable way, and so offer an opportunity for exploring overarching themes and changes over time that would not otherwise be viable.

Overview of Thesis Chapters

Having established the corpus, key terms and general publishing patterns, it was necessary to develop an analytical approach that would identify the characteristics and preoccupations of cheap print production for children. The four chapters that make up the analysis examine four main themes: religion, gender roles, race and empire, and the fantastical. These different areas of focus were chosen partly because of the number of texts within the corpus that explore them, and partly because together they offer a broad range of viewpoints from which to examine these cheap texts. Figure 1.4 shows that 29% of cheap popular children's texts were domestic tales, and as such offer an examination of gender and class expectations. Chapter 2 explores the representation of religion in cheap children's print. This chapter will demonstrate that around 25% of all cheap children's texts published from 1799 to 1890 had religion as a strong, didactic focus of the text, with a further 23% being moral didacticism without a religious focus, and 6%

being texts that reference religion without it being a central or didactic focus of the story. As we have seen, previous historians of children's literature have argued that the earlier parts of the nineteenth century were characterised by a mixture of didactic moral and religious texts for children, but that their presence disappeared almost completely in the latter decades of the century. Unlike in the best-known, more expensive texts for children from this era, however, this chapter will demonstrate that religious themes, teachings, and references maintained a strong and explicit presence in cheap children's literature throughout the period covered by this thesis, from 1799 to 1890. There was a high degree of overlap between moral, religious, and secular texts, indicating that these categories were not as absolute as they have been described in earlier studies on the basis of more expensive publications. While the number of cheap children's secular texts did increase over the century, religious didactic texts continued to be produced by both specialist and commercial publishers across the period.

Chapter 3 takes the domestic sphere as its focus. Figure 1.4 shows that 29% of cheap popular children's texts were domestic tales, and is indeed the most numerous genre represented within cheap children's print. The prevalence of the genre makes it worthy of focus and attention. Not only that, but, as the chapter will demonstrate, the genre offers a clear opportunity to examine gender roles across different social classes. Studies into more well-known children's texts of the era have demonstrated that gender roles, motherhood, charity, and the domestic sphere as a whole were rigidly enforced, and use a specific set of tropes to guide the reader's understanding of those roles. My research shows that while cheap children's domestic fiction uses many of the same tropes and representations of ideals of the domestic, motherhood, and the extended family that more expensive texts do, this chapter will show that cheap fiction reveals the contradictions and hypocrisies on which these ideals were built.

Chapter 4 examines representations of places outside Britain. Cheap children's texts from 1799 to 1890 present a clear and detailed image of some of the different regions of the

world through the extensive use of stereotypes and national images. Work done by critics, including such well-known names as Patrick Brantlinger and M. Daphne Kutzer, examining the representation of empire in nineteenth-century children's fiction has demonstrated that British fiction was fascinated with the world beyond its borders, but that such a world as it is presented within fiction is not in any way a reflection of the lived reality of the places that the stories claim to represent. My research shows that the texts available to the very poorest children in the country, those who, unlike their wealthier counterparts, had no expectation of ever being able to explore these places for themselves, were confronted not only with a heavily biased map that used national stereotypes to control the image both of Britain and of her colonies and other European powers, but also with a map that is remarkable for its incompleteness. The chapter will also show that there is a remarkable consistency in the representation of India through missionary texts, as well as in the imagological consistency for desert islands, Western Europe, and the Middle East, which together form a distinct, if inaccurate, map of the world.

The final chapter focusses on fantasy. Figure 1.4 reveals that significant percentage of cheap children's texts – 11% - are classed as fairy tales, folklore, myths, and fantasy. A further 10% are comprised of nonsense and nursery rhymes, which also often contain fantastical elements as well. As such, fantasy, like the domestic sphere, is represented across a large number of cheap children's works, and its prevalence is worth close examination. There is no direct equivalent to the rise of fantasy that other critics have observed in more expensive fiction within cheap children's texts. Instead, an examination of the use of fantastical elements across multiple genres reveals that these elements have been present in children's literature since the earliest parts of the nineteenth century, to an extent that may surprise critics of the period. These fantastical elements were utilised across fairy tales, anthropomorphic stories, and fantasy fiction. Moreover, while these texts remain relatively didactic long after the 1850s, they do

gradually develop a sense of knowingness similar to the satire found in earlier more expensive fantasy texts. In the end, this thesis will argue, that while there are similarities to the more expensive publications of the time, older ways of writing, including more didactic tales and a strong focus on religion, continued to be used within cheaper print for considerably longer than they were in costly novels. At the same time, however, this study will show that texts not approved by the wealthier classes, such as fairy tales and fantasy works, were also being written in earlier parts of the century alongside didactic works. In the end, the myriad nature of the cheaper publishing industry means that the clear-cut changes over time identified within more expensive texts are not mimicked directly by their cheaper counterparts.

Chapter 2. Religion and the Church

> The sooner a little child is taught to search the Scriptures the better. The humble, docile state of infancy is so calculated for receiving the pure milk of the Gospel, that no time should be lost in administering the heavenly nourishment, before the pride of human reason leads the poor sinner to reject that which alone can prepare him for everlasting life. (*Easy Questions* 189)

Thus states the narrator of *Easy Questions for a Little Child*, a chapbook published in its fourteenth edition in 1834. The belief that piety was the most important aspect of a person's character was extremely prevalent in the nineteenth century (Knight and Mason 9), and religious belief had a clear and significant impact on cheap children's literature published throughout the period. Indeed, contrary to the narrative surrounding the history of children's literature, which maintains that religion all but disappeared from mainstream publishing in the second half of the nineteenth century, significant quantities of cheap print with religious motifs and teachings continued to be produced right up to the 1890s.

As Chapter 1 has already established, many histories of canonical children's literature argue that moral fiction in the early parts of the nineteenth century gradually gave way to less didactic texts, culminating in the 'golden age' of children's literature and the invention of children's fantasy in the 1860s. Not only that, but many critics openly favour the more 'imaginative' works. F. J. H. Darton, for example, deliberately excludes 'purely moral or didactic treatises' from his survey (1). Mary Thwaite likewise views moralising or evangelical texts with dislike, rejoicing in the establishment of stories that put the child reader 'at the centre' (47). Later critics, such as Patricia Demers, Mitzi Myers, and Patrick Fleming, have done much to mitigate the imbalance of a children's book history that focusses primarily on

texts suited to modern tastes. Mitzi Myers in particular has repeatedly argued that these moral and religious texts are worthy of study, claiming in her essay 'Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames, and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Books' that

> however tirelessly didactic and ostensibly down-to-earth, women writers' moral and domestic tales smuggle their own symptomatic fantasies, dramatizing female authority figures, [and] covertly thematizing female power. (34)

However, even as Myers argues in favour of the significance of these stories for their feminist messaging and context, she still calls them 'tirelessly didactic', indicating that she does not feel that readers found these texts particularly enjoyable. Demers likewise refers to the dominance of Rational Moralist writings in *From Instruction to Delight: An Anthology of Children's Literature to 1850* and describes their likely reception thus:

> their [writings for children] appealed more to well-intentioned parents, who pressed them on their offspring. They, poor lambs, were conditioned to accept and profit by such gifts. (168)

Demers then argues that this style of text faded out of use so quickly once other kinds of fiction became available because they ceased to be profitable alongside less didactic works. In short, little challenge has been mounted not only to the belief firstly that religious, and to a lesser extent moral didacticism, all but disappeared sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, but also to the assumption that such texts were somehow inherently inferior to later, more 'imaginative' texts. Not only this, but criticism of didactic fiction tends to be limited to an examination of the earlier parts of the nineteenth century: both Demers's most influential critical text, *Heaven Upon Earth: The Form of Moral and Religious Children's Literature, to 1850* and Patrick Fleming's *The Legacy of the Moral Tale: Children's Literature and the English Novel, 1744-*

1859 end their discussion in the mid-century. It is also notable that while Demers examines religious texts, the majority of criticism around didactic children's works focus on the moral tale, and do not attempt any deep criticism of specifically religious didacticism.

With the exception of Demers, there has not been a great deal of critical interest in religion in children's literature, but some critics of adult texts have acknowledged the importance of religion for understanding nineteenth-century literature. Elizabeth Jay, for example, argues that knowing a person's personal religious beliefs was considered of paramount importance to the end of the century. She states that

> Throughout the Victorian period, however, it was assumed that a man's religious life was so intimately bound up with his social existence and behaviour that to ignore it was to sacrifice a major insight into the influences forming a man's character. (Jay 2)

Right through to the last decade of the 1800s, then, it was still considered necessary to know someone's religious beliefs in order to understand their actions. If that were true, then, as Jay argues, it was also necessary to know these beliefs in order to understand fictional characters as well. G. R. Searle goes further in *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain*. He argues that

> it is noticeable that concern for the urban underclass was seldom confined to their material hardships, nor even to the fear of the social and political consequences of doing nothing. More often the emphasis fell on the moral degradation produced by bad living conditions […] much of the mid-Victorian literature of protest similarly explores the links between depravity and deprivation and between sin and suffering. (3)

Searle thus links authors associated with protest literature - the most famous name being Charles Dickens; a well-known children's protest author of the same period is Hesba Stretton - with an exploration of connections between 'sin and suffering'. Both Dickens and Stretton do

just this, of course, and Stretton's children's works are more explicit in their religious lessons than Dickens usually is. Likewise, highly popular, overtly religious books for children such as *Froggy's Little Brother* (1875) by 'Brenda' (penname of Mrs. G. Castle Smith) have since received a degree of critical attention. As such, it is clear that some interest has been shown to a small handful of mid-century children's books that offer moments of explicit religious instruction, in spite of the assumption of a trend away from such things. However, the religious beliefs themselves are not always the central focus of existing scholarly studies.

The established narrative that religion faded out of children's fiction over the course of the nineteenth century is also at odds with the current understanding of the state of religious faith across the same time period, suggesting that a closer examination of this claim is warranted. Mark Knight and Emma Mason argue in *Nineteenth-Century Religion and Literature: An Introduction* that neither Church attendance nor the general belief in the Christian God faded over the Victorian period. Instead, they point out that

> scholars from a multitude of disciplines have become increasingly sceptical about the notion that a linear and inescapable erosion of faith was at an advanced stage by the second half of the nineteenth century. Historians have questioned the assumption that late Victorians were significantly less religious than their predecessors. (152)

If this is true, as Knight and Mason argue, it negates the possibility that there were fewer texts concerned with religion because there were fewer people interested in teaching religion to their children. If, as children's book histories have traditionally maintained, fewer religious texts were published later in the century, it cannot be because the readership was less religious than it was before. In fact, it would be completely contradictory if this were indeed the case. An examination of cheap texts, as opposed to the small handful of children's texts that have since

entered the literary canon, reveals that this illogical fade out did not actually occur at all across the texts to which the majority of child readers would have had access.

This chapter argues that while secular texts grew exponentially in number, religious themes, teachings, and references maintained a presence within cheap children's texts across the nineteenth century. It focuses on examining religious didacticism in cheap children's texts from 1799 to 1890, and demonstrates its presence in multiple genres across the decades. I will also discuss texts that, while not explicitly didactic, made casual reference to churches or Christian beliefs. I will also examine how the imposition of middle-class ideologies onto these cheap texts had a lasting effect on what they presented as acceptable behaviours and attitudes. To support these conclusions, I use a range of examples from the corpus from each of the text types set out in the Introduction: Type A (religious didacticism); Type B (moral didacticism); Type C (casual references to religion); and Type D (secular and non-didactic). Examining explicit religious teachings through these categories enables a focused examination of how far religion featured in cheap print for children across the nineteenth century, and whether it was always taught in the same way. By splitting didactic texts away from works in which religion might be mentioned within the text, these categories offer a clearer view of what kinds of teaching was done, and how religion was conveyed to readers through different kinds of texts. It should be noted that this chapter does not delve into implicit references to religion within Type D texts. This is not because such things do not exist. Even in more famous texts, intriguing examples can be found; for example, the famous scene is *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) where the Mad Hatter cries 'No room! No room!', sets up an obvious parallel to the Christmas story where there was no room at the inn, only to be powerfully undercut by Alice's indignant retort that 'there's *plenty* of room!' (81). Similarly fruitful discussions could no doubt be had around many of the Type D texts in the corpus. However, as this is the first attempt to examine cheap nineteenth-century children's texts for their religious lessons, it is necessary to

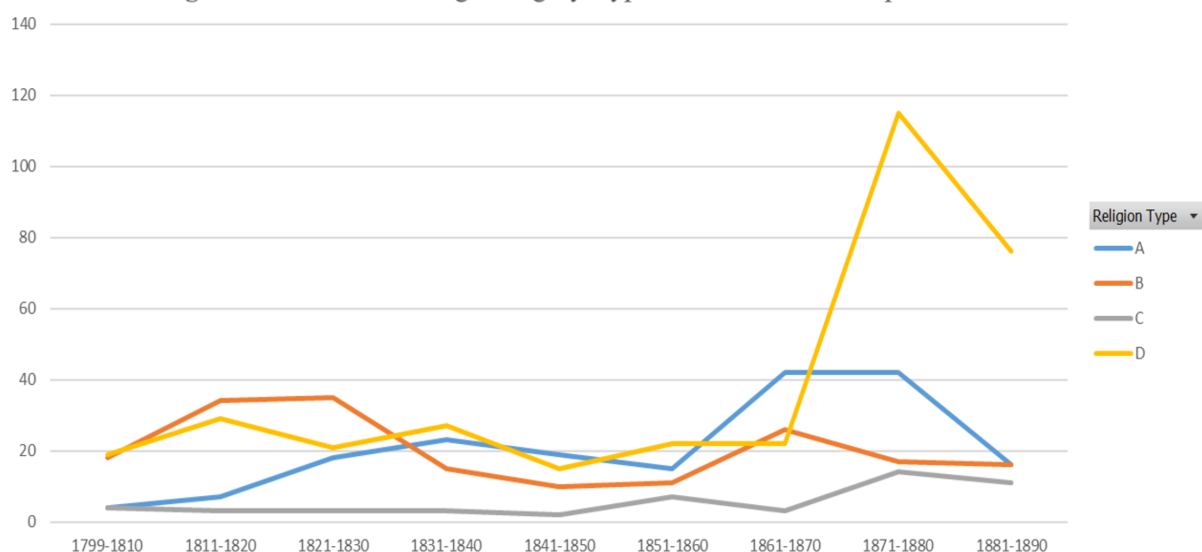
focus the argument on direct and explicit teachings at this stage. Future scholars may find it productive then to compare the longer, more secular works with the kind of material studied here. Keeping Type D texts separate, then, allows for a deeper focus on overt religious lessons across the century.

What these Types do not demonstrate, however, is the gap between different kinds of religious didacticism. Type A covers missionary texts, denominational periodicals, and general Evangelical lessons focussed on behaviour and moral standards. All of these are motivated by and justified as being religious, but their reasons for existence vary hugely. Missionary texts are covered in further detail in Chapter 4, but it is still important to note here that these texts, while all didactic, did not necessarily share the same purpose. Some were encouraging children to adhere to certain behaviours, some were attempting to encourage them to raise funds, some to convert. The individual aims of each text in terms of the religious lessons displayed must be approached for each text discussed. Even so, bringing them together under the wider umbrella of religious didacticism is worthwhile because it allows for the scale and breadth of Type A texts to reveal itself. Despite all being didactic, and all focussed on the Christian religion, these texts were myriad and varied, and should be approached with the same acknowledgement of their purpose as Type D texts.

Religious Didacticism across the Nineteenth Century

When taking into account all of the texts in the corpus, and separating them into these four Type categories, it is immediately apparent that religion was a significant and frequent presence in cheap children's literature. Not only that, but there was no sudden drop off in the number of texts containing religious didacticism in the mid-century. It is necessary, of course, to remember that these texts cannot be guaranteed to be representative, as discussed in the

Figure 2.1: Chart showing Category Type for Texts in the Corpus Over Time



Introduction. Even so, the significant numbers of texts used here (879) permits a broad view of general trends. Figure 2.1 shows that, contrary to the beliefs of previous critics who argue that religious and morally didactic texts make up the majority of children's works within the first few decades of the nineteenth century, in fact Type D texts have a strong presence even at the start of the century. Meanwhile religious didacticism, represented by Type A texts, maintained a presence throughout the decades, rather than fading into obscurity at the beginning of the so-called 'golden age' of children's literature in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Clearly, then, examples of religious didacticism within popular children's fiction can be found after the 1860s, and not merely as outliers or hold-overs from an earlier time. One fairly typical example of these later Type A texts is *Little Rachel*, a 12-page text published by the RTS probably in the 1870s, with no date or price given and one woodcut illustration. The story centres on Rachel, who is scared to start school, but her teacher is kind and gives her simple books, and she becomes comfortable. This, combined with an upbringing from a pious aunt, leads Rachel to grow up faithful and diligent. As an older pupil she becomes a monitor and then teaches scripture lessons to the other students. In the end, she falls ill and dies, and the narrator concludes the story with a couple of pages of prose and a two-verse poem, all on

the importance of piety. The text never strays far from its religious underpinnings, though unsurprisingly given its brevity, it also never explores those underpinnings in any great detail or theological depth. This could be in part attributed to a desire to keep the text short in order for it to be cheaper to produce, but could also be out of consideration for a readership that was presumed to have a lower literacy fluency and thus would not necessarily be able to grapple with more complex explanations. It could also have been for the practical purpose of keeping intrusive explanatory moments shorter, and thus hopefully avoiding alienating readers. Regardless of the reason, the result is that instead, the story contains passages such as the following:

> About this time she became pious, and showed her love to Christ in many ways. At length she became the teacher of a Scripture class, and sought to lead her children to know and love the Lord Jesus Christ. This was delightful work, though she could not attend to it for a long time, as she was taken ill, and had to give up her school. Nor did she return to it again; for she became worse, and then died. But she did not die before she showed her piety towards God and a loving desire to do good to all among whom she lived. (6)

Here, it is repeatedly emphasised in multiple ways that Rachel was pious, loved God, led others to God, and taught the Scriptures to others. But what this actually means and what it looks like is never explained. It is simply assumed that words such as 'pious' and 'Scripture' would be part of the common vernacular and so did not need explaining. Not only that, but Rachel's conversion frames her death not as a complete tragedy, but rather as part of a happy ending, where while she should be missed, there is no need to grieve for her sake, because she is now safe in heaven. Such moments appear to suggest that works of this kind are not attempting to convert readers, but are exemplars for those who are already practicing Christians. However, in this case at least the narrator's intervention at the end of the tale indicates otherwise, with

the use of questions such as ‘Do you, young reader, wish to be like Rachel when she was on earth, and then go to the same bright home in heaven?’ (7). The indication here is that, while a reader who was already Christian could still read the text as a guide for a good life and how helping another child to convert could happen, the narrator’s primary focus is on the unconverted readers who are addressed directly. *Little Rachel* attempts to persuade these children to ‘be like Rachel’ and go to heaven after death. Taking this moment into consideration, the text seems both to straddle the line between providing examples of how to live to those who are Christians and offering the unconverted an opportunity for conversion. Such a strategy makes sense since these cheap texts were intended to reach as wide an audience as possible. It also provides a possible intersection where children from the middle classes and children from the working classes may have been expected to read and benefit from the same texts. Regardless, the strength and persistence of the didactic elements of these later Type A texts demonstrate that the reading public continued to purchase this style of text even in the decades after 1860.

As well as revealing how didactic texts remained strongly present throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, Figure 2.1 also shows that texts with few or no references to religious or moral ideas and with no overarching, overtly stated lesson were also present across the entire period. Indeed, early examples of Type C and D texts not only exist, but early Type D texts outnumber Types A and B. This contradicts the standard critical assumptions about didactic and religious texts in the first half of the nineteenth century. J. S. Bratton, for example, concentrates heavily on the RTS, the SPCK, and religious commercial publishing in the chapter of *The Impact of Victorian Children’s Fiction* that examines the period 1800-1850. Gillian Avery likewise, even while showing that there is a clear divide between expensive children’s literature and print for poorer children, argues that in the first half of the nineteenth century the two kinds of publications share inherent similarities. She states that ‘[i]n fact the idea that might

be said to bind together the late Georgian and early Victorian writers for the young was the distrust of fiction. It was this that had banished the chapbook from Newbery's shelves' (32). Matthew Grenby, too, argues in favour of a new 'children's chapbook' that maintains a keen interest in moral didacticism in his essay, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature'. While there is little doubt that there was a difference in the kinds of chapbooks being produced, or that a large number of religious and moral didactic texts were being written in the first decades of the nineteenth century, this continued focus on a particular kind of work fails to acknowledge the large number of Type D texts being produced from the beginning of the century. Examples of these texts are examined in further detail in Chapter 5, when cheap versions of fairy tales and the fantastical are examined. Here, it is important to note that while they may not have been approved of in more affluent circles, they nevertheless existed – and in significant numbers, too.

At this point, however, it is necessary to stop to consider why these numbers, and the changes over time that they represent, are so significant. Previous studies, based on a smaller number of texts, have not been able to show the full story of approaches to religion in children's literature across the nineteenth century because it is only when examining a large number of texts that intertextual patterns can be found. Furthermore, these patterns then reveal the underlying ideologies at work on and through these texts. John Stephens's influential *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction* (1992) has explored the significance of these intertextual connections in depth. He demonstrates that ideologies – that is, beliefs about society or humanity held to be fundamentally true, sometimes to the point of invisibility – are not only ever-present in children's literature, but that children's literature is a particularly pertinent place for ideologies to inhabit, precisely because media for children is deliberately designed to teach young people how to conform to societal expectations. He argues that

> writing for children is usually purposeful, its intention being to foster in the child reader a positive apperception of some socio-cultural values which, it is assumed, are shared by author and audience. (3)

While Stephens was exploring ideology in contemporary children's fiction, his argument that children's texts are meant to teach specific values that appeal to the author is demonstrably true in the Type A and Type B texts from the corpus, with their didactic lessons. But Stephens's argument also shows how Type C and Type D texts teach their own lessons as well, despite not offering any overt moralising. Crucially, then, Figure 2.1 shows not merely that didacticism continued to have a presence within children's literature for far longer than previously assumed, and that non-didactic texts were being produced from the very earliest parts of the century, but also by implication that different methods for conveying ideologies through children's print were being employed simultaneously across the entirety of the nineteenth century.

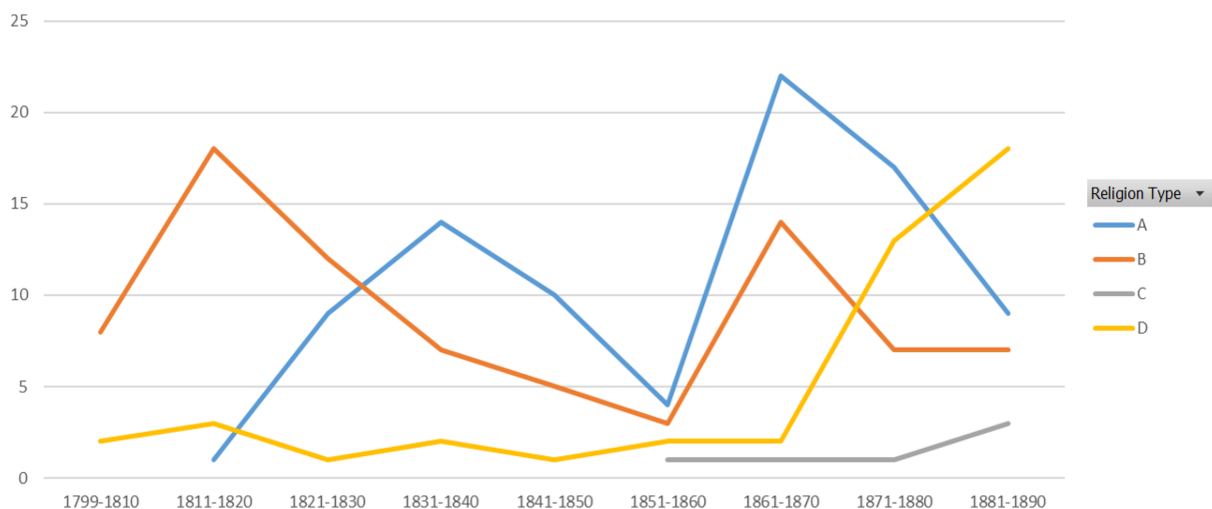
In the didactic works that are the focus of this chapter, it must always be remembered that both the overt lesson and the less recognisable ideologies that lie underneath every text are at play at the same time. This is particularly important for these overt texts because the ideologies are generally assumed to be those of the middle classes, who wished to guide child readers to a particular understanding of the world and their place within it. Kimberley Reynolds has examined middle-class fears of an educated and literary working-class children in *Girls Only,* which I have discussed in the Introduction. Crucial to this point, however, is the importance of having a separate set of texts for the working classes that would teach them to be satisfied with their place, to desire to be good and kind and hardworking and obedient, and to accept as natural not only that their social betters deserved their respect, but that the class system itself existed in its current form for a divine purpose. The constant fears of the wealthier classes over increased education and aspiration amongst the poor (Reynolds 4-8) created a

desire for fiction that glorified the current class structures, and seems to have continued to do so across the entire nineteenth century.

Religion in Domestic Fiction

In order to have any form of in-depth discussion of the consistency, appearance, and representation of religion in children's cheap literature of the nineteenth century, it is important to explore the category types of how religion was presented in texts within the different genres of the period. It is necessary to examine genres across different kinds of text in order to get a clear view of how they were utilised, as the same style of text could incorporate a multitude of genres, and a single genre could be represented across many different types of publication. The most common genre by far within cheap nineteenth-century children's print is domestic fiction. A closer examination of the genre as a whole is made in Chapter 3, but it is worthwhile exploring domestic fiction within the context of Type A texts specifically here as well. Figure 2.2 shows that, within domestic fiction, Type A texts remained consistently the common, right until the very end of the century. Most of these texts were short, as with all cheap print for children. However, cheap reward books, which were often domestic fiction, offer a rare

Figure 2.2: Chart showing Category Types of Domestic Fiction Texts in the Corpus Over Time



example of slightly longer, though still shorter than full novel length, works that meet the parameters for my corpus: which includes three Type A domestic fiction tales from the *Little Dot Series*, a set of cheap reward books with coloured hard covers and between 80 and 100 pages, sold by the RTS at 6d each. Reward books were designed to be given away to children as prizes in Sunday School, or in school in general, and were often more expensive than a child could typically be expected to buy for themselves. Gillian Avery discusses them in *Childhood's Pattern*, arguing that one of the reasons this kind of text is so intriguing is that in order to sell these texts to specific schools or churches, they often had to reflect the teachings of a particular denomination. She states that

> [i]t is only fair to say that there is a discernible difference between the attitude taken towards the poor by, say, the Wesleyan Sunday schools and the Anglican ones. Hence the temptation for the donors of reward books to deal unquestioningly and uncritically with the firm they knew suited their particular variety of churchmanship. (79)

This makes reward books particularly interesting because they attempted to represent not only Christianity as a whole, but also the many and often quite distinctive branches of the Church. However, since the corpus examined in this thesis includes only

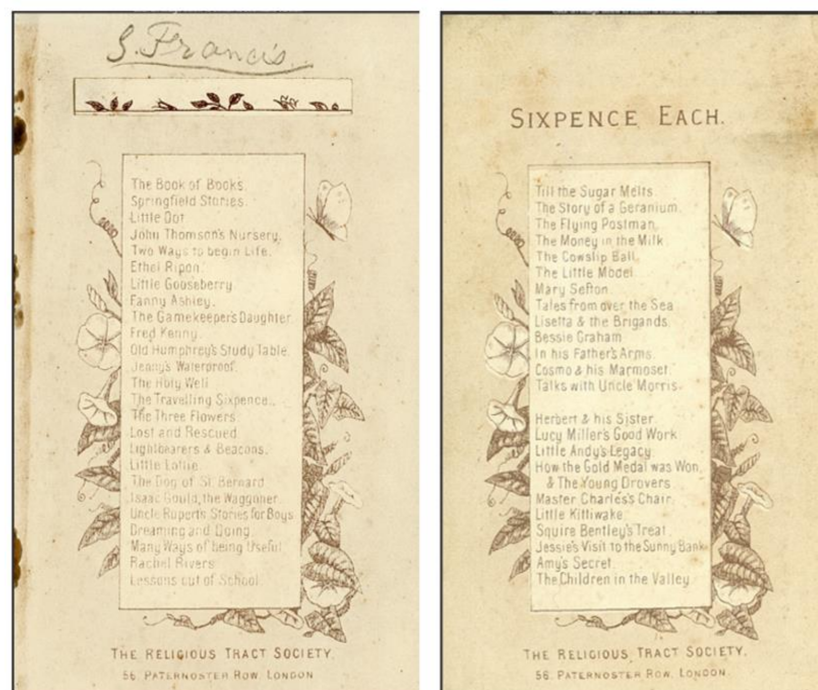


Figure 2.3: Image of *Little Dot Series: Talks with Uncle Morris; or, The Friend of my Boyhood* (RTS, c. 1870, price 6d). Showing inside covers, displaying other titles in the series and the price.

those texts priced at under 1s, the vast majority of reward books were too expensive to be included here. Despite the fact that they were specifically intended for the poor, and given to them for free, it is often very hard to differentiate between a reward book and a children's novel sold for 5s. Many have hard covers, often cloth lined, and are usually longer with superior paper. Some contain plates with information attached about the child being rewarded or the institution which they attend, such as a Sunday School Union, but not all, and no guarantee can be made for what to include and what to leave, so the texts examined here are only those sold cheaply to the schools or students.

The *Little Dot Series* is the only series within the corpus that was both a reward book and sold cheaply to institutions. It is noteworthy, therefore, that this series also shows little evidence of affiliation with any specific denomination. If, as Avery argues, the majority of such texts lean towards specific denominational teachings, the fact that this cheapest series maintains only general ideas of Christian behaviour and conversion indicates that the RTS desired as wide a readership as they could reach in order to sell as large a volume of these cheap novels as possible, for both profit and for the sake of a wider influence. Even here, then, in a set of texts linked to works known for their denominational differences, there continues to be a general, broad Christian appeal. The series covers a wide variety of topics, including listening to an uncle give sermons of advice (*Talks with Uncle Morris*), converting a gypsy girl (*Show Your Colours, and Other Stories*), a boy struggling to come to terms with illness and disability after wanting to join the army (*Soldier Sam and Lillie's Dream*), a girl converting relatives to Christianity through her good example (*Rachel Rivers; or, What a Child May Do*), two friends, one who manages to learn from her mistakes and one who does not (*The Two Roses*), and a conceited girl who learns to be kind to others (*Olive Crowhurst*). Underlying these plots is always a religious message, either explained by the narrator or spoken by the characters, and

they are almost all highly sentimentalised, especially where the deaths of characters are concerned.

The first of these texts examined here is *The Runaways*. It tells the story of a pair of orphan siblings who are badly treated by the owner of the circus where their parents worked and so in whose care they find themselves. After he beats their dog Punch in a drunken rage, they run away and end up outside a wealthy house where Laura, a wheelchair-bound girl who has seen the children perform in the circus ring, lives. Laura's governess lets the children in, takes them to Mr Hartley, Laura's father, and comforts them over Punch's death:

> "Have you nothing that belonged to your mother?" asked Mrs. Fenwick.
>
> "Only Punch [the dog]," said Mag, her lip beginning to quiver. "Oh! ma'am, if God is so good, why did He let poor Punch die?"
>
> Miss Laura opened her eyes at this unexpected speech, and but for a warning glance from her governess would have indulged in a titter.
>
> "My child," said the lady kindly, "Punch had been hurt, you say. If he were ill and suffering it was better for him he should die. God is indeed good. He has put your dog out of his pain; and it is He who has brought you and your brother to a place of safety."
>
> Mag smiled through her tears at this. She had not trusted in vain, then. Here was a grand lady who also spoke of God – her mother's God – with faith and love. (39-40)

In this story, the children eventually discover that they are related to an old and faithful retainer of the house, who takes them back to live with his own family in Scotland. The children learn about God through Laura, and also come to understand that wealth cannot grant them happiness or physical wellbeing; money cannot cure Laura. The lessons go both ways as Laura learns not to assume that every person who is physically fit has everything that they could possibly want. She also becomes more compassionate towards those less fortunate than she is, which helps

her to refrain from laughing at Mags and her brother for their misunderstandings as she almost does in this passage.

Another *Little Dot* text, *Soldier Sam and Lillie's Dream*, contains two separate stories. In *Soldier Sam*, the titular character, dreams of nothing but becoming a soldier, but after he is rendered unable to walk he is forced to become a 'solider of God' instead. The second story is a fairly typical waif tale, a genre which is also linked to religious themes in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was such an immensely popular genre that it is unsurprising that at least one story of this type is represented in these books. It is also a piece of temperance fiction, a genre which came into existence as the temperance movement gained traction in the middle of the century. Lillie's father has been an alcoholic since her mother's death. She and her little brother are often left starving, and her brother is ill. Their father promises to buy the sick boy strawberries and goes to work. He does not return home when expected, and Lillie falls asleep and dreams of someone she trusts implicitly, and asks him for help curing her father of his ways:

> And when she had quite told all, he touched her with his hand, and said, "Lillie, you want your father to be a better man, and give up his bad ways and love God, don't you?"
>
> Then it seemed to her that she had said, "Yes, she wished it more than anything in the world – more even than for Charlie to get well, if that was possible;" and when she said so, the stranger smiled, and stretched out his arms as if to take Charlie; and when Lillie shook her head, and clung to her little brother, the kind voice said, "Give me Charlie; I can take better care of him than you. I will make him happy, and safe, and well; but he must go with me, and so I will give you your great wish." (*Soldier Sam and Lillie's Dream* 59-60)

Her father arrives home drunk and without the promised strawberries, and both children cry in disappointment. The next day, guilty from the previous night, the father goes to buy strawberries, but when he returns to wake his son, Charlie is dead. Lillie grows up good and tidy, and the father reforms after his drunken carelessness killed his son. Leaving aside the moral dilemma of the implicit suggestion in the passage that Lillie had to choose her father over her brother, and assuming that Jesus (for so the figure must be) was already going to take Charlie to heaven anyway, the story contains some of the elements associated with the waif tale: two children with strong but simple faiths, a drunkard father, a broken down cottage, poverty starvation, death, repentance, and a bitter-sweet ending.

It is particularly important that the abusive adult here is the father. A deeper discussion of gender roles in the nuclear family is offered in Chapter 3, but the dominant belief in the importance of the maternal bond seeped into every part of society, as discussed below. By contrast, it was more possible to make a father the villain of a story, although even then it was still very unusual. In *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London*, Lydia Murdoch argues that children from homes where the father was the only parent were disproportionately represented in orphanages in the later nineteenth century. She argues that

> [t]he proportion of institutionalized children coming from father-only homes was roughly comparable to the proportion of children coming from two-parent families. There were many more two-parent homes than father-only homes in the population, however, which means that sole fathers were much more likely than two-parent families to send their children to an institution. (77)

She goes on to add that the vast majority of these institutionalised children were from mother-only homes, and concludes that this is the result of the 'loss of the male breadwinner

[devastating] the family economy' (78). In other words, Murdoch sees economic problems as the principal cause of family breakdown in single-mother households while, since they still had the 'male breadwinner', other issues must be behind the high numbers of father-only households turning to institutions. The reasons for this lopsided representation are myriad and complex, but there is no doubt that general social perceptions of the father's role played a significant part. This is particularly important when applied to discussions of less than ideal fathers in Type A Evangelical fiction such as *Lillie's Dream*, because fathers held a central role in the Evangelical family. Stephanie Olsen argues in her essay 'Daddy's Come Home: Evangelicalism, Fatherhood and Lessons for Boys in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain' that, while motherhood took on an increasing significance in Victorian society, Evangelical groups continued to emphasise the father's role. She argues that

> [m]others were often regarded as the most powerful guides to piety. In contrast, at least for Evangelicals associated with the RTS, it was fatherhood that remained central to familial piety. (180)

The connection of this particular kind of Evangelicalism with the RTS is particularly relevant in this case because *Lillie's Dream* is an RTS publication. Here, then, is a text discussing abuse of children by their father in a text produced by a publisher renowned for Evangelical principles that revered fatherhood. And in the end, it is not the father's faith that saves them, but his daughter's. Either, then, the grip of expected gender roles was looser in the RTS's cheaper texts, or the reality of such a disproportionate number of broken father-only homes was known to the publishers to such an extent that it could not be ignored in a text about the struggles of the very poorest children. The dream Jesus instead takes on the role of ideal father figure, heavily implying that even these most unfortunate children can still experience the perfect father through God Himself – although the fact that Jesus takes Lillie's brother away in exchange for her father's rescue does complicate that ideal somewhat. Despite claiming to offer

a simple message intended to teach children to have pity on the poor and orphaned, this story is a mass of contradictions. But the text itself seems unconcerned with these questions, and instead comforts its readers with the information firstly that the little brother is safe and happy in heaven, and secondly that Lillie and her father are both happier on Earth having gone through such hardship. The religious lesson is not based on a harsh warning against evil behaviour, despite the actions of the father character. Instead, religion is framed as a comfort and blessing in times of difficulty, as well as the route to salvation through the child figure that waif tales commonly use to frame tragedy as a potentially bitter-sweet or happy ending.

In the end, these longer texts reveal that religious themes were strong within reward book domestic fiction even in the second half of the nineteenth century. Books in the *Little Dot* series are notable for how exceptional they are in the corpus: they are all longer texts, nearing 100 pages, and nicely bound in coloured covers. Indeed, they bear almost no resemblance to the vast majority of texts examined throughout this thesis, except for their cheap pricing. Their very exceptionalism in appearance and length, however, reveals the strength of the religious themes at work. They were deliberately made cheap in order to be accessible to a readership that would not ordinarily have been able to afford books of this type, and thus their messaging is deliberate and staged. The domestic tales in particular combine religious thought not with stark lessons and threats of failure, which are present in many of the other texts examined in this chapter, nor with sermons and lectures on moral duty as are found in the chapbooks and tracts. Instead, these longer domestic tales appeal for sympathy, and beg child readers to think about and be compassionate towards the poor.

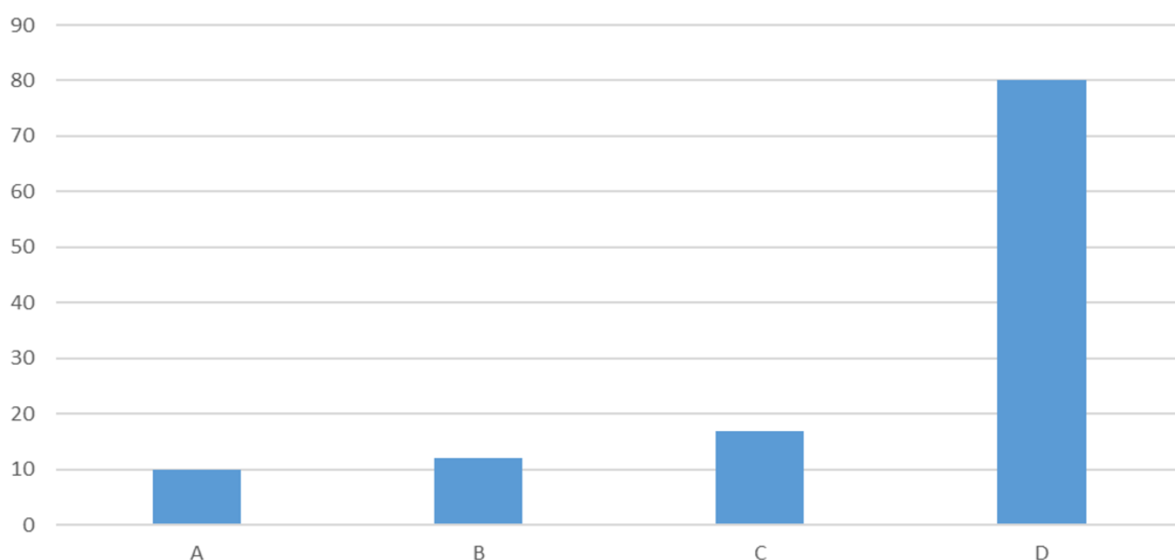
Despite the cheapness of these texts, then, and the fact that they were designed to be given away free in schools, they argue for a religion that considers the poor as people of special interest to God. In doing so, they stretch their appeal out to a wider readership than the more specialist reward books that Avery examines in *Childhood's Pattern*, and thus reach a broader

readership than other reward books might have been designed to do through a kind of religious homogeneity. Whether this broader appeal was a result of a desire to generate profit even on very cheap books, or for the basic tenant of Christian teachings about the poor to be foregrounded, is not clear, though the likelihood is that, just as with religious chapbooks, there was no hard division between the goals at all, but rather both were intended. Regardless, the end result is the same: these cheapest reward texts reveal a domestic world concerned with the plight of the poor and with the comforting of characters through religion, thus combining Christianity and compassion for the less fortunate in a way that allows for no true separation between the two.

Religion in Educational and Non-Fiction Texts

A number of themes and text types regularly feature across multiple genres of cheap print in the nineteenth century. The oldest and most obvious of these is the primer or alphabet. Primers are the oldest kind of children's text and have existed for centuries in various forms, and while

Figure 2.4: Chart showing Category Types of Alphabets and Educational Texts in the Corpus



some of them could be elaborate and expensive, the need for easily accessible simple texts for beginner readers resulted in a large number of cheap alphabets and primers being printed throughout the nineteenth century. In the early part of the century, primers were still similar to what they had been previously, with the alphabet, a catechism, and the Lord's Prayer as fairly standard. In the second half of the century, alphabet books rarely contained catechisms or the Lord's Prayer, and could vary from being just the letters with images, letters with one word and illustrations, or a letter and a rhyme or poem to go with it. It should be noted that it is unlikely that many of these publications survived, despite being produced in vast quantities, and that as such the information obtained from the sample of alphabet books that I was able to find is not necessarily representative, but is rather merely what people chose as worth preserving. As Figure 2.4 shows, the majority of primers were Type D texts, but Type A and Type B were still significant presences. That is to say, while a majority of the alphabet books did not discuss any religious themes, a significant proportion did.

So if later alphabets do not contain prayers and catechisms, how do they demonstrate religious teachings? The most common way is through using Bible characters or religious references in the descriptions attached to each letter, such as in the two examples given below:

> 'CHRIST
>
> John x ii
>
> I am the Shepherd of the sheep!
>
> Will ye not hear my voice,
>
> And in the wonders of my love,
>
> With faith and hope rejoice?
>
> (*Scripture Picture Alphabet*, T, Nelson and Sons, no price given, c. 1880, 5)

and

> W is for WIDOW; her two mites she gave,

And trusted in God to sustain her and save.

(*Darton's Nursery Leading Strings: The Scripture Alphabet*, Darton & Co., n.d., no price given, 13)

As well as containing strong religious themes throughout, even alphabets that are mostly secular occasionally mention Bible characters. One example is *The Noah's Ark Alphabet*, published by George Routledge and Sons in 1874 with 9 pages of large coloured illustrations and sold at 1s and 6d with different covers. *Noah's Ark* is an alphabet of animals, with each letter corresponding to an animal word and picture, the exception being N for Noah. Another example is the letter X, which unsurprisingly, some works struggled to find a word for, as seen in this example:

X is a letter that seldom is used,

But it's shape will remind us how sinners abused

Their Saviour and God, when, with brute, cruel force,

They compelled Him to bleed and to die on the cross. (27)

So some alphabets used Xerxes, regardless of whether the rest of the alphabet was specifically religious or not. Xerxes was a King of Persia who most well-known both for invading Greece, resulting in the famous battle of the 300 Spartans, and for being the husband of Esther, one of the only two women in the Old Testament to have an entire book dedicated to her. Esther was a Jewish woman living under Persian rule when it was dangerous to do so, and had to hide her heritage when she was taken to become the king's bride. A jealous man then attempts to convince the king to allow him to slaughter all of the remaining Jews in the kingdom, and Esther risks death by going into his presence uninvited to plead with the king to intercede on her people's behalf. The king shows mercy, and saves Esther's people. However, despite being a Bible character, the following extract for the letter X from *Prince Arthur's Alphabet* (Dean

and Son, c. 1870) suggests that the interest in Xerxes was more focussed on historical than biblical studies. There is no mention of Esther or of Xerxes' role in her story here:

> XERXES was a great king of Persia, who, although he had a larger kingdom than he knew how to govern, wished to make it still larger, by taking somebody's else [sic]. So he ordered out a great army, such as was never seen before or since, and the further they marched, the less they got. They found that other countries knew how to fight better than they did; and after losing a great many men and ships, and plenty of riches, Xerxes was obliged to march his great army home again. Though he is called a hero, he was not a good man, like our great hero, the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, and the people found this out, and so they killed him. It was very wicked to do this, but nobody was sorry, or mourned him. (n.p.)

In other words, despite appearing at first glance to be a religious reference in an otherwise secular work, the use Xerxes for X may not in fact refer to the Bible at all, but rather to the deeds of the historical figure. So, while there were more secular than non-secular alphabets, there does not appear to have been a significant shift over time, and there may have been a small degree of slippage between secular and religious subjects, depending on what, for instance, the general ideology surrounding a figure such as 'Xerxes' was over the course of the nineteenth century.

Another trend across multiple genres is the publication of non-fictional religious texts, including catechisms, prayers, sermons, Bible extracts and religious pamphlets. Most critics acknowledge the existence of these works, including Darton's history of children's literature, but few appear interested in examining them in any detail. Indeed, as discussed in the Introduction, Darton dismissed these texts as not truly children's literature at all, and thus deliberately omits them from his history (1). Quite aside from this judgement, however, there

is another reason for the scarcity of any kind of criticism of such texts: comparatively few of these sermon-type texts have survived. These little works, usually between five and twenty pages long, have rarely been considered a priority for collectors or archivists Despite this, however, it is clear that they were produced in great numbers and in multiple editions. Of the few single surviving works, one later example is the Right Rev. J. C. Ryle's *No More Crying: An Address to Children*, a text published by William Hunt and Co. in 1859 and sold for one penny. The back cover lists other sermons in the same series, or by the same author. This clearly indicates that these texts were not one-off experiments, or even unusual finds, but rather formed an important part of the cheap and popular market of children's literature, even if few of them survive today.

Another example is *Westley's Improved Rewards: Pity the Negro; or, An Address to Children on the Subject of Slavery*, published in 1825 for Francis Westley and sold for one penny. This text states clearly on its cover that it is a fourth edition, and that it is one of a collection of 'Improved Rewards' listed on the back cover, clearly indicating firstly that it is part of a series and secondly that the entire series has been edited and reprinted. The text is short, discusses the religious arguments against and moral horrors of slavery with great urgency, uses complex vocabulary and sentence structure and does not attempt to shy away from the topics that it is discussing: slavery is utterly wrong, and leads to terrible and preventable

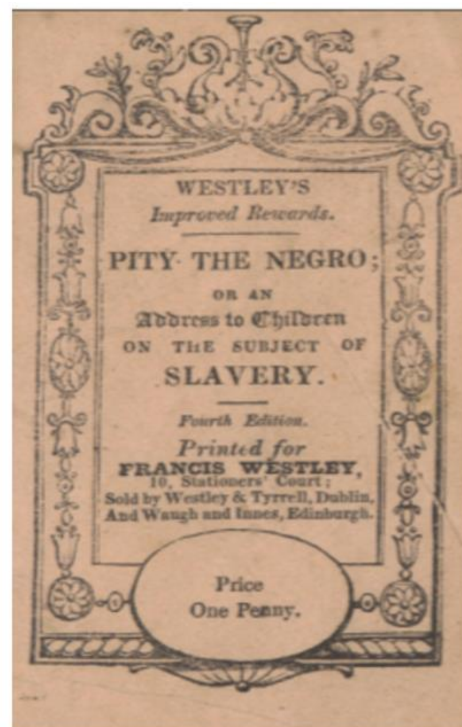


Figure 2.5: Image of *Westley's Improved Rewards: Pity the Negro; or, An Address to Children on the Subject of Slavery* (No publisher given, price 1d). Showing front cover with title, author, and price.

suffering. The authors of both of these texts both repeatedly return to the topic of the child's soul, a subject that is put to great emotive use, with the narrator of *Pity the Negro* exclaiming:

> [t]hose of you who have been led to see something of the wickedness of your own hearts, may form some little idea of the use sinful man is likely to make of unlimited power. (2)

Such an interjection is clearly acting to encourage young readers to shrink away from the horrors of one person owning another due to the natural inability of humankind to compassion and self-control. Indeed, *Pity the Negro* focusses strongly on creating an emotional response within its readers. Towards the end of the letter (the text is styled as a letter written to readers), the narrator describes a meeting with a man who had helped run slave ships:

> a naval officer, who had been in the West Indies, was trying to prove to me, that the negroes *must* be flogged; and his proof was this --- "that when they lose a father, or mother, or even a lover, they sulk," (that is, they are broken-hearted,) "and the *nothing will do but flogging them*, and flogging them severely." Thus the anguish of their souls is to be cured by the anguish of their bodies' (11).

By inserting the point that the slaves are not sulking but broken-hearted, Westley invites pity from a reader who has almost certainly been taught to despise sulkers, and requires the child reader to recognise the lie that the adult officer is telling, and reject it. Appealing directly to the heart of the reader, the text not only urges sympathy for the slaves' plight, but also consideration for their own circumstances in comparison - how fortunate they are, and how gladly they should obey their parents now that they know how terrible their fate could be. This early instance of a non-fictional, politicised text for children displays an emotionality and attempt to appeal to the readers' religious and moral sensibilities that continued to be echoed in tracts and other such texts for children for decades. For example, later cheap non-fictional

religious works for children include such titles as *The Temperance Alphabet for Bands of Hope* and *Do Not Forget to Pray*. *The Temperance Alphabet*, published in 1871 by W. Tweedie, has 34 pages with green and red borders and black and white illustrations on every page, and *Do Not Forget to Pray* was published by the RTS in c. 187- with 12 pages and one woodcut illustration, no price given for either text. The style of both of these works is remarkably similar in tone to those that were published seven decades previously; they maintain the same urgency, as seen in passages making proclamations such as:

> N stands for Numbers. But no pen can count up
> Those whom Satan and Death have destroyed by the cup.
> Pile up in one curse, Fever, Famine, and War,
> And the curse of Strong Drink will dwarf the huge score (20)

and

> U stands for Union. Let the Pledge be unfurled!
> If we slay not the foe he will conquer the world!
> He browbeats our Senate; and Gold gives him might
> To frown down the noble and crush out the right (27).

These are not only highly emotive lines, but politically charged in a way that encourages the child reader to seriously consider the power of the wealthy over the government. Although it does not call for a specific direct action is the same way as *Pity the Negro*, still the child reader is called on to engage in considering political issues, and to side with a particular line of thought.

Do Not Forget to Pray takes a slightly different approach in engaging the child reader with the issues being discussed than *The Temperance Alphabet*. *Do Not Forget* maintains the close connection to the child reader through repeatedly speaking directly to them: for example, the narrator poses a number of questions to the reader, beginning with:

> [i]t is not a strange question to ask you, young reader, do you pray? Are you like Samuel, Josiah, and others, who began to call on the Lord in their youth? Are you like Jesus? We may be sure that when he was a child he prayed to God his Father, as we know he did in the days of his manhood (2-3).

The same focus on heaven and on spiritual warfare remains in these later texts, in passages such as,

> [y]ou have many sins: seek that they may be all cleansed away by the blood of Jesus Christ. Your heart is unholy: seek for the Spirit's help to enable you to strive against all bad thoughts, bad tempers, and bad ways (8).

Or the plea in *No More Crying*, and 'I want the words that I have just written to stick for ever in your minds' (14). Clearly, in spite of all of the changes in focus and form that have taken place in fiction for children over the course of the nineteenth century, where non-fictional sermons, pamphlets, and tracts are concerned, the didactic elements surrounding religious teachings remain almost unchanged. So too, it seems, does the belief in the power of children's literature to inform ideology: convince children when they are young to think in a certain way or have specific beliefs, and these will then remain with them. The overarching story told by current criticisms of the history of children's literature is one that sees works with a religious focus for children as a product of the first half of the century that was displaced and eventually replaced by less didactic texts. The consistency displayed in these texts indicates that this understanding takes an overly deterministic stance. Type A texts including those found in short sermons, mock-letters, and even political propaganda for children like the *Temperance Alphabet*, were clearly still profitable for publishers, or else appeared to be achieving their aims of reaching child readers for conversion to their cause, even towards the end of the century.

Representation of Missionaries and Clergymen

Missionary texts are examined in greater detail in Chapter 4, but at this point it is important to examine the representation of authority figures within the Church in a discussion of the use of religion in cheap children's print. Given the abundance both of texts that were explicitly didactic about religion and those that bring in religion more casually and (Types A and C respectively), it would not be unreasonable to expect to find high numbers of texts that explore authority figures within the Church. However, while many texts mention going to chapel or to services and hearing a sermon or preacher, very few works directly engage with characters who hold positions in the Church. Often, the clergyman is replaced with a mother or older or better educated friend, who guides the reader or child character down the correct path. A more in-depth discussion of the use of female spiritual authority can be found in Chapter 3. Here it is necessary only to acknowledge the male Church figure is often replaced with a mother or other female character.

However, where such characters are discussed, they are never portrayed in an overly negative light. While adult fiction in the nineteenth century is known for figures such as Mr Brocklehurst in Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and the many hypocritical pious characters in Charles Dickens' publications, cheap children's texts rarely do other than portray clergymen as wise and benevolent characters. At worst, they may be ineffective, but never deliberately cruel or overly self-satisfied. A typical example is found in *The Children's Jewish Advocate* from October 1865, a periodical aimed at encouraging missionary efforts towards converting the Jews in the Middle East to Christianity. In this number, one article notes that many Christians travelling in the Middle East fail to stand as good advocates for their faith, and put the local Jewish people off from conversion with their attitudes. The narrator concludes that

> I very much fear that my Jewish friends employed on the rail will see little that is edifying among the English who are now coming into these parts. What a blessing it would be, if Jews and nominal Christians could see not only English missionaries and clergymen, but British laymen walking in fear and love of God. May not Jews, on seeing the indifference to religion of Englishmen abroad, argue with the missionary, "You are obliged to be pious, because religion is your trade; who do you not recommend your doctrines to the men of the country which sent you? they certainly care for none of these things." (238)

The implicit assumption in this passage, one which is apparently so obvious that it does not need to be stated, is that the missionaries and the clergymen, contrary to their fellow English countrymen, *are* good examples of Christianity and the Christian faith – and, by extension, of England and Englishness itself. There is not even a suggestion that the missionaries themselves may well be a part of the reason for the locals' refusal to conversion, or that they could be doing anything other than 'walking in the fear and love of God', or that such an accusation might need to be defended against. Such moments demonstrate the positive light in which it was expected that clergymen and missionaries would be represented in popular children's literature, and the assumption that these figures were a positive spiritual and societal presence that is bound up in those discussions.

These implicit assumptions, especially in didactic texts that are supposedly explicit in all of their messaging, are an eloquent indication of the deeper ideologies at work in the text. What is not said is so fundamental to the beliefs of the author and publisher, or society in general, that it does not occur to them that they might even be something to question. Stephens explains that

> [f]iction presents a special context for the operation of ideologies, because narrative texts are highly organised and structured discourses whose conventions may either be used to express deliberate advocacy of social practices or may encode social practices implicitly. (43)

Type A texts do not only one of these things, but both explicitly advocate and implicitly encode practices at the same time. In this instance, where the assumption being encoded is that authority figures in the Church are fundamentally good, the implicit ideology has the added effect of working in favour of those in positions of power. In producing all of these cheap texts, the middle-class authors, publishers, and distributors have an explicit agenda. The texts deliberately encourage obedience to authority and acceptance of circumstances. But where that encouragement is not outwardly spoken, it becomes pernicious. When the intent is explicit, a reader can choose to accept or reject it. The problem with implicit ideology in texts, however, is that it creates a position where readers accept things as unquestionable without necessarily realising that they are doing so. Here, specific kinds of authority figures are assumed to be doing good works in favour of those who wish to keep the current power structures in place: and leaving no room for questioning or disagreement means that the text itself does not acknowledge the possibility of another view of those in power.

Outside of non-fictional works, and texts that present themselves as non-fictional such as the *Jewish Advocate*, which account for six of the fourteen texts representing clergymen and missionaries within the corpus, references to clergymen or missionaries actively teaching other characters are rare. Passages discussing such figures are usually fleeting or take the form of throw-away lines such as a moment in an 1831 number of the *Youth's Magazine; or, Evangelical Miscellany* when the narrator of 'Out of the Forest' explains that

> This evening which was to have been spent in festivity and music, was turned into weeping and prayer. My young master ordered the chapel to be lighted, the guests and servants to assemble; and the venerable chaplain, who had led the minds of the careless and the thoughtless to improve the awful circumstances of the times, by reflection and consideration, there conducted the service of the evening, and commending the whole household to the care and keeping of Him who slumbers not nor sleeps, passed the night in his chamber in prayer. (49)

This is the only mention of the chaplain in the entire text. Despite the emphasis placed on the general piety of the people, and the importance of the chaplain's role in guiding and protecting them, he has no name and no speaking part. Most importantly, although he is providing comfort to those in his care, the reader is given no details as to how this is achieved, or what words were said. And, most importantly, the chaplain takes no active part in any of the action of the text: he does not attempt to address, or even advise the other characters on how to address, the tragedy which has befallen them.

This passivity is evident in a number of the Church authority-figures in popular children's fiction. Two such texts are *The Shipwreck; Showing What Sometimes Happens on our Sea Coasts; Also, Giving a Particular Account of a Poor Sailor Boy, who was Refused Any Assistance by the Wreckers, and who Died in Consequence of their Inhuman Conduct* (RTS, c. 1822-1886, 20 pages, two woodcut illustrations) and *The Little Flower-Gatherer* (RTS, c. 1847-1859, 12 pages, no price given, one woodcut illustration). In the first, a set of verses, the cabin boy's death is witnessed by the local vicar, who talks to him about forgiveness and salvation as he dies. In the second, Jane is mistreated and neglected by her family and is forced to play alone, and when the new curate comes across her she tells him of her faith in God and hope for heaven. She then dies, drowning in the brook because she was alone with nobody to help, and the curate observes her funeral while thinking about her faith. In all of these examples,

the clergyman character's presence is either so fleeting as to account for little more than a side-note, or else exists merely as an observer, who may speak to other characters to reveal their faith to readers, but does nothing to convert them or to aid them in their suffering. Instead, the vicar's and the curate's questions and comments allow the child characters of the cabin boy and Rachel to reveal the piety that they already have, a typical convention of waif fiction that highlights the impurity of adults in comparison to children.[4] Indeed, in these two examples the child characters seem to show stronger, or at least purer, faith than that of the clergy characters. For example, when the vicar observes the wreckers and exclaims that heavenly justice shall be done, and God will save the righteous and punish the wreckers, the cabin boy pleads with God on the wreckers' behalf, saying

> O pardon these *Wreckers*, Thou God of all grace!
>
> Let their dark crimes be forgiven;
>
> Save, save them from wrath, from that horrible place,
>
> And grant them to see a Redeemer's blest face;
>
> O receive them in mercy to heaven! (16)

Here, the vicar advocates a fiery justice where the wreckers are punished for their crimes, but the very person that they have effectively murdered begs for mercy on them. The vicar's faith may be as strong as the cabin boy's, but he is apparently blinded by his own anger and pain, rather than leaning on God's grace as the cabin boy does. The vicar's call for justice is overridden by the cabin boy's call for mercy – although in the end, of course, the ability to reach that mercy is left on the shoulders of the wreckers themselves, and depends on their ability to repent and convert.

[4] The date ranges given for both of these texts by the archives (1822-1886 and 1847-1859) suggest that it is possible that waif fiction was being published in cheap children's fiction before it was made popular in more expensive works by authors such as Hesba Stretton.

While on the surface it may seem strange for a children's text from this time to treat clergymen with so little reverence when compared to how other children's texts represented them, both of these works were following a trend established in popular novels for adults, including the works of both Jane Austen and the Brontë sisters. Marianne Thormählen's *The Brontës and Religion* examines the state of the Church of England in the first half of the nineteenth century, as well as critical and literary responses to it. She notes that while it is not correct to claim that the Brontë sisters only wrote about bad clergy, it is apparent that 'there are a great many unappealing and/or unsuccessful churchmen in Victorian fiction' (173). She goes on to argue that this is a reflection on the true state of the Church at the time:

> [a]ccounts of conditions in and around parish churches in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are full of horrors: crumbling houses of worship; fonts filled with coffin ropes and candle ends; frayed and dirty cloths on altars used to serving as meal-tables or even chairs; and clergymen who nonchalantly asked whether a member of the congregation happened to have a corkscrew handy on one of the rare occasions when Holy Communion was administered – or who were too drunk to hold the chalice straight. These are extreme examples, of course; but the general picture was one of neglect and indifference. (175-176)

Thormählen maintains that the momentous Evangelical movement in the early parts of the nineteenth century quickly changed this state, and that by the mid-century the Church of England was a respectable institution, if still marked by controversy and doctrinal dispute. Even so, her conclusion that 'there was an anti-clerical streak in the Evangelical tradition to which the Brontë family belonged', despite their father being a clergyman, could no doubt be further applied to other, less renowned publications, as well (203). If, at the beginning of the century, ordinary people were used to clergy who did not embody the virtues that their various churches extolled, and as a result became accustomed to works of fiction that did not treat them

respectfully, it thus makes sense that clergy characters in cheap fiction were not infallible. Indeed, it is more interesting that they are instead *teachable*: the vicar in *The Shipwreck* learns to be better from the dying boy. He is not, like Brocklehurst, a bullying caricature, but rather a well-meaning man who can be directed in the correct way. In fact, the narrator offers no censure of the vicar's words: they are simply glossed over, and used as a vehicle through which the cabin boy's piety is revealed.

A similar tack is taken in *Little Rachel* (RTS, 187-), where the curate does nothing either to help strengthen Jane's faith or get her away from what is clearly a difficult family situation. During the conversation Jane has with the clergyman, they discuss death:

> She paused for a moment, and then slowly said, "I trust I am, sir: I do not think I am afraid to die." "Why are you not afraid to die, Jane?" "Because, sir," she answered while a soft smile passed over her face, "*I think I love Jesus.*" (7)

The moral question of whether her family, or even conceivably the clergyman, are indirectly responsible for her death, is brushed aside; the focus is on the importance of being prepared for death. Here, the curate does not provide an alternative point of view as the vicar does in *The Shipwreck*: he merely floats into Jane's life, listens to her talk about her faith and her lack of fear in death, and then attends her funeral. He is not a key to her learning anything, and fails to save her life. In this story, the forcible foregrounding of one particular ideology – the inherent innocence of the child – accidentally throws doubt onto another: that children should look to adults for help and guidance. Rachel cannot look to an adult to save her here. But the clergyman's failure to aid Rachel is not the focus of the text. Rather, he is the eyes through which readers watch the ideal, pure child meet her bittersweet death, and enter heaven. The ideology of child innocence, so prevalent in more expensive forms of waif fiction, is thus

clearly evident here, and is proven through the emphasis on the religious message of the text. Rachel's purity and innocence are both a result of and proven by her faith.

Not all clerical characters are so passive – for example, the curate in another text, *Poppy's Presents* (written by Mrs. Walton, illustrated by W. J. Morgan, RTS, 1886), helps the grandmother figure to understand that the cup of communion is not magical and cannot cure physical illnesses – but the number of ineffective clergy and missionary characters that observe rather than intervene in the actions of the text is notable. In the end, the Church authority figures in these passages have little to no impact on the children that they interact with, but instead merely offer an opportunity for these characters to discuss the faith that they already possess in a way that reinforces the ideology of the pure child figure revealing adult failures to them through their goodness and faith.

So from where, then, does religious instruction for child characters usually originate if not the clergy? The answer is in fact quite simple: from older family members, usually a parent or elderly female relative (although male relatives and neighbours sometimes offer advice too), or a more spiritually mature child – usually a sibling, a classmate, or a neighbour. Most often, it is the mother, aunt, grandmother, or mother-figure, or else the father, who answers the child character's questions and corrects or guides them to the right path. There is a large body of critical research focussed on the role of the mother character, and a deeper examination of female role models, including mothers and teachers, is made in Chapter 3. Here it should be noted that the importance of female authority figures in nineteenth-century children's fiction has been examined by several critics. In her essay 'Virtue in the Guise of Vice: The Making and Unmaking of Morality from Fairy Tale to Fantasy', Karen E. Rowe argues that female authority had been a concern right from the start of the nineteenth century. She argues that

> [i]t is precisely the absence of matronly mediation and vigilant observation that provokes Sarah Trimmer to unleash a righteous fury against juvenile libraries that traffic in amusing tales, romances, and fables. (56)

This desire for feminine authority in children's fiction did not end, however, with Trimmer. Rather, its echoes and influence can be seen even late on in the Victorian era. One example is *Weeds and Flowers*, published by T. Nelson and Sons Inc. probably in the 1870s, no price given, with six pages. In this text, two children who look after the garden complain to their mother about the weeds that always come up, and their mother uses the weeds as a metaphor for evil thoughts and deeds, explaining that they must always continue to fight the spiritual battle against them, saying

> We must watch, and pray, and labour; yet only the Spirit of God can change these little gardens of your hearts, as to make 'the plants of grace' grow and flourish in them. (7)

The children learn quickly and eagerly from their mother's explanation, setting an example of the idealised mother/child relationship with the mother as the guide figure. The mother's insistence that the children cannot defeat the weeds alone, but need 'the Spirit of God' to help them places her firmly in the position of spiritual teacher, giving her authority over the children not only as an adult and a parent, but as a guide in their walk of faith as well.

Another example is *Whom Do You Love Best? & Co.* (T. Nelson and Sons, London, six pages, no given price, n.d.), only this text uses the father character instead. In this story, a little girl, Lizzie, listens to a sermon on loving Jesus best (which is not included in the text itself, but occurs before the events of the story) and is troubled by the instruction that she must love God more than her own parents:

> When they had reached the seat which often formed a resting-place for their strolls, she sat down beside him, and bursting into tears, she said,--- "Oh, papa! I do love mamma and you the best."
>
> He father pressed her to his breast, and said, "And we love our little Lizzie, too! But why do you cry?"
>
> "Because, papa, I cannot love Jesus more than mamma and you!"
>
> Her father at once understood her trouble. (*Whom Do You Love Best* 4)

Her father then tells her the story of the cross, and she reconciles herself to the idea of loving God above all others. The father, like the mother in *Weeds and Flowers*, immediately understands the problem facing his daughter and says the correct words to help Lizzie. Lizzie listens to him and is changed by his teaching, in complete contrast to the interactions between the cabin boy or Jane and their clergy characters. In these texts where a child character is searching for faith or spiritual answers, the parents (or, in other texts with similar questions being asked, the other adult authority figures, relatives, parent-figures, older siblings, or more mature classmates) serve as guides and spiritual teachers instead, thus rendering clergy characters effectively unnecessary. These relationships are here presented as being key to the child's spiritual, social, and emotional development. In the end, religious instruction from an adult authority does come through in cheap texts, but it is neither confined to nor even best exemplified in the clergy. Rather, Evangelically aligned ideology around parent-child relationships, particularly regarding the father as the spiritual head of the household, shifts the responsibility of leading the child to God onto family members instead.

Religion in Periodicals

The final area to consider is religious periodicals. Indeed, periodicals are particularly interesting in an exploration of religious instruction and representations of the Church in cheap popular children's fiction. While some cheap religious children's periodicals follow the pattern set by other genres of not really engaging with debates over denominational differences and instead leaning towards religious homogeneity in popular fiction, there are periodicals that were specific to particular denominations. The vast majority of cheap publications for children in the nineteenth century tended to avoid specific references to denominational affiliations, as with all of the examples examined above, or any discussions of the complex social and doctrinal divisions between them. But some periodicals, like *The Baptist Magazine and Scholars Award*, were written specifically for a particular branch of the Church.

Kirsten Drotner's *English Children and their Magazines, 1751-1945* acknowledges the importance of these religious periodicals. She argues that there was a wide mixture of different denominations represented, often even in the title, and that their existence slowly faded out in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly with the appearance of the *BOP* and *GOP*, and the popularity of publishers such as Edwin J. Brett with *Boys of England* (1866 – 1899). She argues

> That the religious periodicals, however, sought to move with the times [in the 1850s] is indicated not only by their inclusion of fantasy (their own specific brand), but also by a new social awareness, which characterized mid-Victorian Britain in general and found its particular expression in the second evangelical revival of the 1860s. (58)

In other words, Drotner shows that many children's magazines maintained a strong religious purpose well into the 1860s. Her research indicates that these cheap periodicals at least, unlike more expensive novels printed in the same decade such as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, maintained their religious focus and, indeed, combined that focus with 'a new social

awareness'. The evidence of the publishing dates available for the periodicals found for this corpus certainly supports her argument. The first of these is *The Baptist Children's Magazine and Sabbath Scholar's Reward*. According to *Index and Finding List of Serials Published in the British Isles, 1789—1832*, the magazine ran from 1827 to 1834, and then '[c]ontinued as *Baptist Tract Magazine*, &c., 1835-37; as *Baptist Reporter and Tract Magazine*, 1838-43; as *Baptist Reporter*, 1844-57; as *British Baptist Reporter*, 1858-63; as *Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer*, 1864' (12). The change of title implies that later reincarnations of the magazine were not aimed at child readers and so effectively the run of the magazine as a text within popular children's literature was from 1827 until 1834, a total of seven years. The second example is *The Dawn of Day: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Sunday-School and Parish Use*. Despite the relatively neutral title of this magazine, which refers to parishes but does not appear particularly militant about its desired audience, the text is strongly pro-Church of England. The catechism in the early part of the annual for 1878 contains passages such as the following:

> How is the unity [of the Catholic – that is, worldwide – Church] broken? - By the authorities in the Church requiring as necessary for salvation more than Christ and His Apostles taught; by private persons or particular congregations separating themselves from the worship or ministry of the Church, and setting up a separate worship or a separate Ministry for themselves. (*Dawn of Day*, 7)

and

> Besides this idea of the universal Church, do we not also find branches of the Christian Church described in the New Testament by particular or national titles? - Yes, there is mention made in the New Testament of "the Church *of* the Thessalonians," "the Church *of* the Laodiceans," and there are Epistles addressed to the Roman Church, the Corinthian Church, the Galatian Church, the Ephesian Church, &c.

> Following this example, what is the title by which the National Church of this country is designated? - She is called "the Church of England." (*Dawn of Day*, 7)

These extracts both advocate for the Church of England in a way that treats all other denominations with disdain, and imply that any other denomination is in fact set against God's design for the eternal Church: the 'authorities in the Church requiring as necessary for salvation more than Christ and His Apostles taught' is an obvious reference to the Catholic Church, and 'private persons or particular congregations separating themselves from the worship or ministry of the Church' refers to Dissenting denominations. The strong focus on the superiority of the Church of England and the attempt to justify that superiority through scripture would certainly have been alienating to readers of other denominations, or even those of less militantly passionate loyalty to the Church of England, even if the morals and scriptural teachings themselves were in line with their own beliefs.

Given that this style of writing would have greatly narrowed their potential readership, it is not surprising that although it is unclear how long the run of the magazine was, the only surviving texts are from 1878, indicating that it may have only lasted for one year. In other words, both of these examples had very short runs in comparison to other religious periodicals, implying that they were generally less successful, almost certainly because a denominational affiliation immediately limited any potential readership. They may, of course, have had other principles underpinning them; for instance, they could have been printed for purely philanthropic purposes and so did not need to generate profit. If so, this could indicate that their short runs were more a consequence of a lack of philanthropic support. Alternatively, it could be because even works written by philanthropists without any intention of making a profit may not have been sufficiently well written or interesting to engage their readership – although it would be wrong to assume that just because something is free or heavily subsidised it is also of bad quality. Regardless, the fact that they were only published for such short periods implies

either that their intended readership was uninterested even in free or heavily discounted denominational texts, or else that the sponsors of these periodicals withdrew their support. Either way, the reality is that these denominational-specific texts were quickly either given up or renamed and replaced.

In contrast to these two periodicals, there were a large number of cheap children's magazines that took a broader, more hegemonic approach to Christianity. Examples of such titles include: *The Tiny Library. A Weekly Journal for the Entertainment and Instruction of Young Persons* (1846); *Merry and Wise* (1869); *The Sunday at Home* (1865); *The Day of Rest: A Coloured Magazine of Sunday Reading for the Family* (1882); *The Children's Treasury and Advocate of the Homeless and Destitute* (1879); *Band of Hope and Children's Friend* (1857); *Little Wide-Awake: A Coloured Magazine for Good Children. New Series* (1882); *Youth's Magazine; or, Evangelical Miscellany* (1831); *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine* (1844-1887); and *New Series of the Children's Jewish Advocate* (1865). However, despite the fact that other periodicals were not necessarily strongly affiliated with a particular denomination, almost all of them maintained an Evangelical tone or taught Evangelical principles. The Evangelical movement was not bound to a specific denomination, and crossed between the Church of England and Dissenting congregations.

With the exception of the Catholic Church, which continued to be regarded by many with great suspicion throughout the century, in the main, Evangelical publications do not seem to have been particularly interested in using cheap children's literature to argue that a specific denomination was superior to all others. Gillian Avery argues that Evangelical publishers were more successful than other denominations with children's texts because they 'tended to cater far more for the urban poor [and] their message was more universal' (80). Although Evangelical teachings in children's fiction could not necessarily be labelled 'universal', as Avery suggests, it is certainly true that in some of the cheapest publications available, it was

the Evangelicals who dominated the market for religiously focussed texts. In the end, however varied the denominational affiliations of authors and publishers might be, poorer children were presented with one dominant outlook on Christianity in their periodicals.

As might be expected from such a large number of periodicals printed by a group defined by a desire to evangelise, profit was not the only motivation driving this more inclusive view of Christianity. In the very first number of *The Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, the narrator states that

> The fathers and founders [of the Missionary Society] wanted to *unite* all who loved the Saviour in one Society for spreading the Gospel. But how was this to be done, seeing they were *divided* into so many churches, and had never acted together before? (*Juvenile Missionary Magazine* 13)

In other words, in at least some instances, there was a deliberate moral and/or spiritual reason for a more generalised approach alongside the financial advantages of appealing to a wider readership. Indeed, Brian Harrison argues in *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* that the idea of the importance of cross-denominational cooperation was recognised by temperance reformers:

> Once the seriousness of the threat from rationalism became clear, and once all denominations had established their temperance departments, the attack upon drunkenness became something which could unite Christians against the foe. Anglican evangelicals had long been co-operating with dissenters on reforming crusades. The temperance movement pushed the trend further. (188)

While Harrison's focus is on the temperance movement rather than the wider reach of popular fiction across denominations, his argument that there were certain social concerns that were too great to be ignored in favour of denominational disputes makes sense within children's

literature – as the quotation from the *Missionary Magazine* shows, missionary work was one of these causes; given the number of titles above, an argument can be made that correctly educating children in moral and religious matters could be considered such a cause as well.

Taken to a logical conclusion, the implication is that the primary cheap materials tends towards generalising across denominations because the work they were doing (raising money for missionary work, encouraging children to observe the Sabbath, converting the Jews, and a general desire to impress Christian ideas onto child readers) was one that they could all unite behind. In the end, although periodicals were one of the places in which clear denominational distinctions within popular children's fiction can be found, these texts are greatly outnumbered by periodicals that take a more generalised, homogenous approach towards Christianity. The motivation for this approach is likely two-fold: firstly, the practical need for as wide a potential readership as possible in order to create circulations that generate enough profit to sustain the magazine; and secondly, the desire to unite different groups of people with different affiliations to fight various causes across the century.

Integration of the Religious and the Secular

The binary of religious and secular texts is not a straightforward one in the nineteenth century. There were a number of specialist publishers across the period, and for the purposes of this discussion the two most significant were the Religious Tract Society (or RTS) and the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge (or SPCK). Both of these have been discussed in the Introduction. Here, it is necessary merely to note that of the two, the larger and more prolific in terms of cheap popular print was the RTS, and their periodicals *The Boy's Own Paper* (*BOP*) and *The Girls Own Paper* (*GOP*) have received the bulk of critical attention exploring RTS publications for children in Britain. They are often held up as examples - or even proof - of the

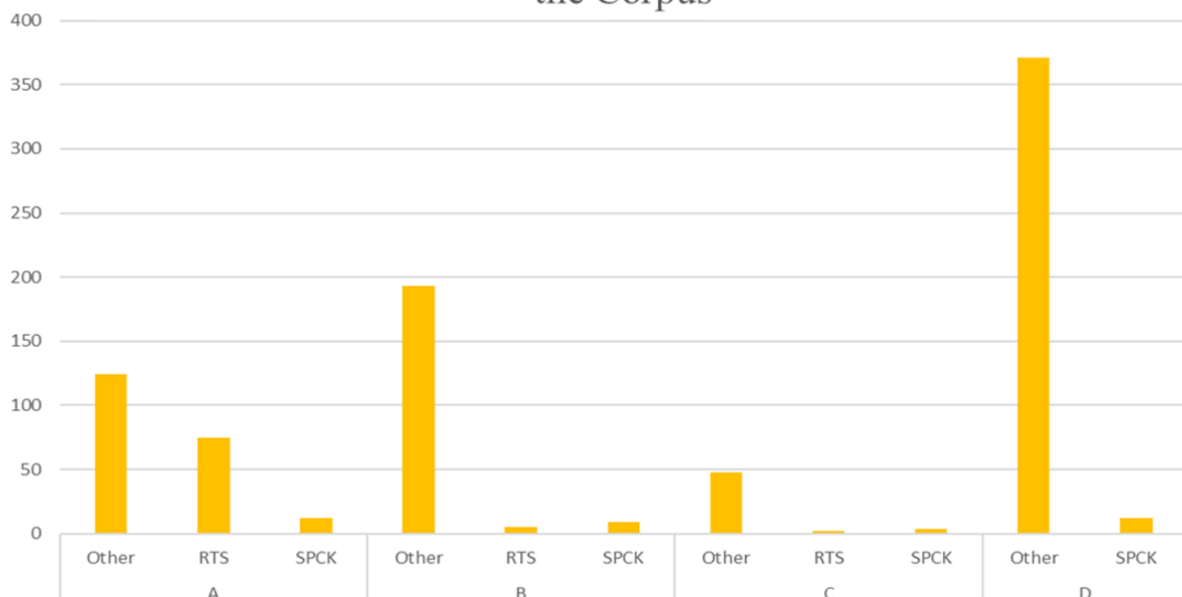
way in which children's publishing was moving away from religious didacticism. Drotner explains that the *BOP*

> marked the beginning of a change in juvenile papers from religious didacticism or secular rationalism towards moral entertainment where an extrovert, imperial manliness mattered more than introspective piety or dry memorising (67)

Likewise, in one of the essays from Butts and Garrett's collection *From the Dairyman's Daughter to the Warrals of the WAAF: The Religious Tract Society, Lutterworth Press and Children's Literature*, Mary Cadogan asserts that

> [w]hile never departing from Christian context, the *GOP*'s tone soon began to reflect and to influence the new, expanding, educational and career expectations of young girls. Lively persuasion through appealing stereotypes and role models fairly soon replaced didacticism. (162)

While this may be true for these specific publications, and despite their higher prices, it is generally recognised that they were circulated very widely (Cadogan 162), this alone is not



evidence that cheap children's texts from the RTS all moved away from religious didacticism at the same time – or, indeed, that any other publishers did so either.

Figure 2.6 shows that there were more Type A texts being produced by publishers other than the RTS and the SPCK, as well as the fact that both of those publishers produced non-didactic fiction. This may well be because the profit from these non-didactic texts was intended for use furthering their educational or missionary endeavours, which again blurs the line between religious and secular intent. The number of cheap Type D texts from the RTS is extremely low, however, suggesting that at least in its very cheapest publications, it maintained its didactic stance for much of the century. Outside of obviously didactic works, however, if the texts themselves are not religious, but the publisher was, and the profits from the sales were used to fund Christian charities, should the texts be classified as 'secular' as such, or should they be understood within a wider context of production? Likewise, where other publishers produced Type A texts in order primarily to generate profit, does the desire for profit thus undermine the religious message of the text since the reason for its existence was a secular one? Neither of these questions has a single clear answer. What is apparent, however, is that when considering the publishing industry as a whole, it is evident that religious and non-religious forms of cheap print were far more intertwined than simply reading the texts alone would suggest.

It is necessary here to consider the ideologies driving these publishing houses, and their desire to reach a poorer readership. Profit is of course one aim, but to suggest that the religious publishing houses were not founded with other ideas in mind is to fail to understand their purpose. The RTS in particular is known for its conversion and missionary literature, often published in India, as well as the *BOP* and *GOP* in Britain. These works all served different goals including: to convert, to encourage missionary work, to ask for support for missionaries, and to encourage socially acceptable behaviour under the direction of religious maxims such

as obedience and self-control. But not every text produced by the RTS aimed to achieve all of these things at once. Instead, texts positioned readers in different places to receive the ideology offered. When discussing the ideology at play with modern publishers, Stephens explains that the decision to create stories and characters with various backgrounds to appeal to different readers is a deliberate one. He argues that

> [t]he principle aim in constructing a variety of subject positions for readers is to contribute towards a positive self-concept for children from minority groups, and to contribute to the social and personal development of *all* children by effacing notions of racial, class or gender superiority. (51)

In these texts, then, the gap between modern publishers and those in the nineteenth century is apparent. While there are male and female characters from different class backgrounds, none of the ideology at play in these texts indicates any desire to 'efface' the notions of separations between race, class and gender. Rather than being designed to indicate a humanist belief in all people being alike to one another, these cheap texts are openly designed for working-class readers. Where the *BOP* and *GOP* were too expensive to be affordable for any outside of the middle-classes and wealthier working-class children, these texts focus primarily on the poorest readership. The separation is not merely one of representation. They are literally not given the same texts to read. Some may have had access to more expensive publications, but they were not written specifically *for* them in the way that cheap texts were.

Not only this but, contrary to Drotner's and Cadogan's contention that the *GOP* and *BOP* indicate a move away from overtly moral or religious print, the RTS, like other publishers, actually continued to produce didactic texts across the century, at least with its cheapest publications. One later example is *The Lip of Truth*, published by the RTS in around the 1870s with 12 pages, no given price, and one woodcut illustration. This text tells a story about George

Washington as a child that claims that he carelessly cut down his father's favourite cherry tree, but immediately confessed upon being asked. His father is delighted in his honesty, and Washington goes on to become 'loved by the people in the land in which he lived, and over whom he ruled for many years as the chief and governor' (4). The rest of the text lists Bible characters who told lies and were punished, before concluding with a set of verses praising God. The text contains statements such as

> more than all, we should confess our guilt before God. He is ready to forgive all those who truly believe, and confess and forsake their sins. May the young reader, through faith in the Saviour, be delivered from the guilt and power of all sin. (8)

This is a clear example of overt didactic teachings in an RTS text written around the same time as the introduction of the *BOP*. In the end, it must be concluded that the RTS did not simply shift all of its children's publications away from religious didacticism in the 1870s, and that their cheapest publications did not follow the same patterns as more expensive periodicals such as the *BOP* and *GOP*.

More intriguingly, secular publishers were also still producing unambiguous examples of religiously didactic Type A texts in the second half of the century, thus evidencing profitability. One example of this is *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books* series. These texts, produced by Dean and Son and sold for a farthing each, are eight or ten pages long with paper covers, and despite being made between 1857 and 1865 are printed with woodcut illustrations, presumably to save on production costs. The series contains almost fifty titles and includes works such as *Temptation Resisted*, about two boys who manage to obey their parents and go home from a friend's house in time for tea despite being entreated to stay; *Trust in God*, a dialogue between a mother and daughter on the meaning of the verse 'Preserve me, O God! For in Thee I do put my trust'; *Bennie and the Tiger*, about an infant boy who is saved from a

tiger by Providence and a local Indian man; and *The Fisherman and his Son*, featuring a father and son who are shipwrecked, but make it home thanks to God's protection and blessing. Individual works also often contain poems, such as the one after *Bennie and the Tiger* about a boy and his mother mourning the death of his little brother before concluding that they shall meet again in joy:

> We shall go home to our Father's house--,
>
> To our Father's house in the skies,
>
> Where the hopes of our souls shall have no blight,
>
> Or love no broken ties (8)

Overall, the entire premise and shape of these *Illustrated Farthings* texts remains focussed on religious teaching, and their extremely cheap prices and methods of production suggests at least a partial evangelising intention: they were extremely affordable, and since they were mass-produced, good supplies were readily available to working-class purchasers. They could also, at such prices, conceivably be bought in bulk by Sunday Schools or philanthropists to be distributed. Producing vast numbers cheaply and selling them at a farthing each also shows that there was profit to be made in mass producing religious fiction, indicating once again that there was a strong and reliable market for such texts, alongside the possibility of child reader genuinely wanting them rather than religious works simply being foisted onto the masses by the specialist publishers.

Two conclusions can be drawn from examining the overarching changes in publications of the different category types in the nineteenth century. The first, as Figure 2.6 shows, is that the production of Type A texts was by no means limited to the specialist religious publishers, but was also carried on by secular publishers as well, indicating that such texts remained profitable right up to 1890. The other is that, despite claims that the RTS moved away from Type A with the publication of the *BOP* and *GOP*, and this may be true for more expensive

works, the cheapest publications of the RTS remained heavily in favour of religious didacticism even towards the end of the century.

It is not only among the different publishers that a connection between the religious and the secular can be found, even from the earliest parts of the nineteenth century. One of the first kinds of cheap print for children produced early in the nineteenth century, the chapbook, contained almost every kind of genre, from domestic fiction to poetry, and from religious sermons to household management hints. The definition of 'chapbook' has been a matter of critical debate for quite some time, simply because it is not a genre in the sense that it gives the critic any basis of assumption for the contents or style of the text. Rather, as Tessa Watt explains in *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (1991), '[t]he most neutral meaning of the term 'chapbook' is simply any book carried by a chapman' (266). Chapmen were travelling salesmen, and for centuries carried amongst their wares a variety of small, cheaply made books that could be bought, usually for the sum of a penny, and could contain anything from sermons to magic tricks, from physics lectures to fairy tales. Indeed, chapbooks had since the Reformation intertwined the religious and the secular with remarkable ease, using the same format to print religion, science, history, folk stories, and political pamphlets all together: in short, Watt claims in regards to the combining of the secular and the religious until the eighteenth century, '[t[he profane and the pious, the verbal and the visual, all were accommodated within the same room, the same mind, the same experience' (Watt 332). While in the eighteenth century this may have been true for chapbooks in general, by the start of the nineteenth century, chapbooks specifically aimed at child readers had begun to be produced. These 'children's chapbooks' were typically didactic, but otherwise covered a multitude of genres, including moral fairy tales, sermons, and prayers.

Indeed, some chapbooks became so strongly didactic, and so focussed on religious lessons, that they can at times be difficult to differentiate from tracts, or from other forms of

sermons or religious ephemeral texts. Chapbooks are one of the few genres of cheap fiction that has received a high degree of attention from critics, including M. O. Grenby and Andrew O'Malley. The chapbook and the tract were distinct from each other to an extent in that they had ostensibly different purposes (one to make profit, one to convert) and different forms of distribution (one sold by chapman, one primarily given away), but in terms of their physical form they could often be almost indistinguishable. Not only this, but where the genres cross over (that is, where chapbooks also included collections of prayers, sermons, or catechisms), there is so little difference between the two in terms of the text that was actually written that any distinctions lie entirely in intention and distribution, and not in the writing itself. The result is that, just as with the crossover between commercial and religious publishing discussed above, these religious chapbooks were likely to have been intended for the dual purpose of both monetary and spiritual profit. Once again, the line between secular and religious publishing is uncertain and blurred.

In fact, the same series could contain a mixture of religious and moral works for children. For example, *The Sister's Gift; or, The Bad Boy Reformed: Published for the Advantage of the Rising Generation* (J. Kendrew, York, 1826, sold for one penny), seen here in Figure 2.7, is highly didactic with a strong and overt religious focus. However, the work is advertised alongside such texts as *Little Red Riding Hood* and *The History of Giles Gingerbread,* both moral fairy tales, and *The House that Jack Built* and *Mrs. Lovechild's Golden Present*, which were educational. On the strength of this information, then, it can be deduced that there was no real separation between the religious and the secular, but rather that they existed comfortably together.

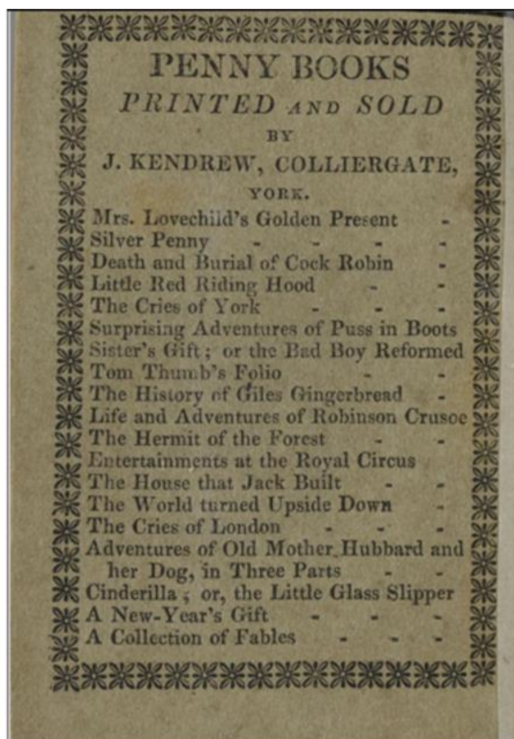
It is not only the kinds of texts that can sometimes be difficult to discern, but also the genre itself. *The Sister's Gift* is a Type A domestic tale, but with the bulk of text taken up with a sermon (or lecture, perhaps) given by one character to another. It is the story of a sister and

her younger brother who are sent to live with relatives and then to separate boarding schools after their parents die. The sister is a good and pious girl, but the brother displays an alarming delight in performing terrible acts of cruelty on animals. After observing his behaviour over the holiday break, his sister takes him to one side and warns him of the evil of his behaviour, and he repents. Typical phrases include

> [y]ou cannot suppose that the divine Being created these poor creatures merely to please the whim and caprice of mankind. He has breathed the same spirit of life into thousands of animals, as that by which you exist (24)

and

> It is not in our power to give life to anything, and therefore who right do we have to destroy an existence which we can never restore? The man who, without remorse, can wantonly do these things, ought to banished to the deserts of Arabia, there to live among lions, wolves, and tygers, for he is not fit for society. (25-6).



PENNY BOOKS
PRINTED AND SOLD
BY
J. KENDREW, COLLIERGATE,
YORK.

Mrs. Lovechild's Golden Present -
Silver Penny - - - - -
Death and Burial of Cock Robin -
Little Red Riding Hood - -
The Cries of York - - - -
Surprising Adventures of Puss in Boots
Sister's Gift; or the Bad Boy Reformed
Tom Thumb's Folio - - -
The History of Giles Gingerbread -
Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe
The Hermit of the Forest - -
Entertainments at the Royal Circus
The House that Jack Built - -
The World turned Upside Down -
The Cries of London - - - -
Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog, in Three Parts - -
Cinderilla; or, the Little Glass Slipper
A New-Year's Gift - - - -
A Collection of Fables - - -

Figure 2.7: Image of *The Sister's Gift; or, The Bad Boy Reformed: Published for the Advantage of the Rising Generation* (J. Kendrew, 1826, price 1d). Showing back cover with book list and price.

Both of these examples indicate that throughout, the text maintains its focus on religious teachings that are then in turn used to discuss moral obligations towards animal welfare. In fact, the didactic elements of the sermon given are so embedded in the story that the tale cannot be understood without them. It is, in the

end, a domestic tale, but one in which a sermon is embedded.

Tracts, too, are not always just sermons or prayer collections. For example, in *The Traveller's Story* (RTS, 187-, 12 pages, no given price, one woodcut illustration), an uncle is asked to talk about his travels. He explains that many eastern cities have walls around them with the gates being shut at night, and one day while abroad he had known that he had to make it to the city before nightfall in order to collect his passport so that he could sail the next day but, assuming that he had plenty of time, he dawdled all day and then missed his chance to get into the city. He warns the children that while it is only vexatious to miss a train or a boat, some people miss their chance to repent because they assume that they have time, and warns them against waiting to give their souls to God, saying:

> It will be sad indeed if you let the days of your youth pass away, while you neglect to give your heart to Jesus. If you should not seek pardon through his precious blood, what will you do in the end? (7)

and

> You may think that you have plenty of time: so many have thought. But when the shades of death have gathered over them, they have awakened to see their danger,--- when it was too late. The right and the best time is *now*. It may be the *only* time. (8)

Both of these passages echo with the same urgency that is used in *The Sister's Gift*, pleading with the child characters (and, by extent, the intended child readers) to repent and to change their ways. Furthermore, exactly as in *The Sister's Gift*, it is not a direct sermon, but rather a domestic story with one character speaking at length about faith to another. Despite being published decades apart (*The Sister's Gift* in 1826 and *Traveller's Story* in 187-), one by J. Kendrew, a secular publisher, and the other by the RTS, the first being a chapbook and the other a tract, there are more similarities than differences between them in the ways in which

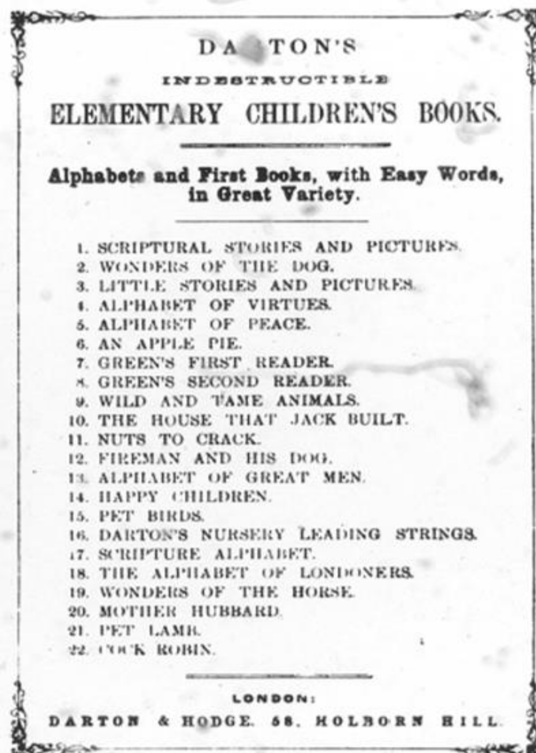
they present their religious material, and how they frame the religious lessons within the tale. This similarity indicates that there was in fact a level of consistency across the entire century in the ways in which religious lessons were taught to poorer children through cheap literature.

Another kind of publication that crossed over multiple genres and category Types is the toy book. Toy books, short coloured books with large illustrations printed in the second half of the nineteenth century, have received very little critical attention. One of the few scholars to examine toy books in any great detail is Tomoko Masaki, who noted in 2001 that despite being published 'on a huge scale', toy books have been almost entirely neglected by researchers (2). Certainly, my own explorations of popular fiction as well as Masaki's research demonstrate that toy books were produced in huge numbers, and as such ought to be examined in detail. However, even in the time since Masaki completed her thesis, very little additional work has been done to understand this neglected genre of children's fiction. Masaki's work was critical in opening up the field and providing a fascinating insight into the history of toy book publications and the changing technologies that permitted their existence in the publishing industry. As she argues,

> The Victorian printers were the toy book makers. The history of the toy book was the history of colour printing […] The evolution of aesthetic, creative design in toy books by artists was produced in collaboration with technological developments by inventive, enthusiastic printers. (7)

However, while this history of how toy books were produced is certainly important and more work should be done on to further it, there is also a huge gap concerning the contents of these books. As such, there is a need for further research into the actual contents of these works.

Toy books could be either religious or secular. Examples of Type A series of texts include the *Religious Tract Society Toy Books* (c. 1880) and *Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books*



DA TON'S

INDESTRUCTIBLE

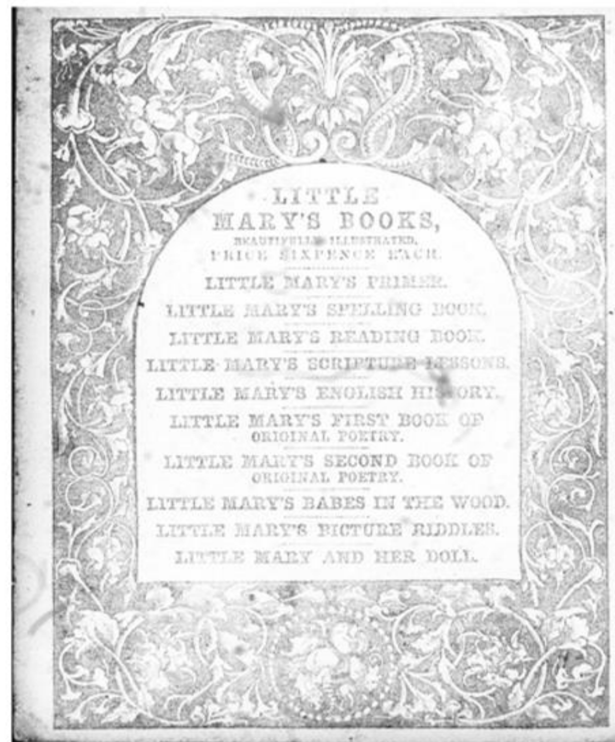
ELEMENTARY CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

Alphabets and First Books, with Easy Words, in Great Variety.

1. SCRIPTURAL STORIES AND PICTURES.
2. WONDERS OF THE DOG.
3. LITTLE STORIES AND PICTURES.
4. ALPHABET OF VIRTUES.
5. ALPHABET OF PEACE.
6. AN APPLE PIE.
7. GREEN'S FIRST READER.
8. GREEN'S SECOND READER.
9. WILD AND TAME ANIMALS.
10. THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT.
11. NUTS TO CRACK.
12. FIREMAN AND HIS DOG.
13. ALPHABET OF GREAT MEN.
14. HAPPY CHILDREN.
15. PET BIRDS.
16. DARTON'S NURSERY LEADING STRINGS.
17. SCRIPTURE ALPHABET.
18. THE ALPHABET OF LONDONERS.
19. WONDERS OF THE HORSE.
20. MOTHER HUBBARD.
21. PET LAMB.
22. COCK ROBIN.

LONDON:

DARTON & HODGE. 58, HOLBORN HILL.



LITTLE MARY'S BOOKS,

BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED,

PRICE SIXPENCE EACH.

LITTLE MARY'S PRIMER.

LITTLE MARY'S SPELLING BOOK.

LITTLE MARY'S READING BOOK.

LITTLE MARY'S SCRIPTURE LESSONS.

LITTLE MARY'S ENGLISH HISTORY.

LITTLE MARY'S FIRST BOOK OF ORIGINAL POETRY.

LITTLE MARY'S SECOND BOOK OF ORIGINAL POETRY.

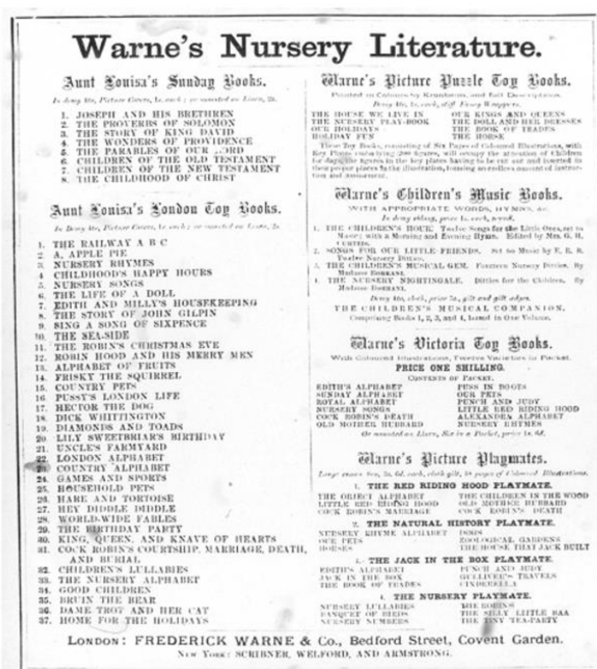
LITTLE MARY'S BABES IN THE WOOD.

LITTLE MARY'S PICTURE RIDDLES.

LITTLE MARY AND HER DOLL.

Figure 2.8: Images of toy book covers with book lists. Left: *Darton's Indestructible Elementary Children's Book* series (Darton, n.d., price 1s). Right: *Little Mary's Books* series (David Bogue, c. 1842-1857, price 6d).

(1873-1880), but there are also others that contain a mixture of themes. For example, the *Warne's Excelsior Toy Books* (n.d.) series is mostly secular, but alongside these texts are *The Prodigal Son* and *The Story of Ruth*. *Darton's Indestructible Elementary Children's Books* (1856) and *Little Mary's Books* (n.d.), are other examples of such a series. As Figure 2.8 shows, *Darton's Indestructible* series included several scripture-focussed texts alongside *The House that Jack Built* and *Cock Robin*, both of which were secular. *Little Mary's Books*, also in Figure 2.8, was mostly composed of educational texts, with one work of scripture and some secular stories, including the *Babes in the Wood*. Even where a series is entirely religious, such as *Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books*, they were sometimes connected to and sold alongside secular works. Figure 2.9 shows that the back cover for *Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books*, which were published by Frederick Warne and Co. in c. 1880, had full page colour illustrations, and sold for one or two shillings with different covers. The list in Figure 2.9 indicates that the series of Sunday



Warne's Nursery Literature.

Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books.

1. JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN
2. THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON
3. THE STORY OF KING DAVID
4. THE WONDERS OF PROVIDENCE
5. THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD
6. CHILDREN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
7. CHILDREN OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
8. THE CHILDHOOD OF CHRIST

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books.

1. THE RAILWAY A B C
2. A, APPLE PIE
3. NURSERY RHYMES
4. CHILDHOOD'S HAPPY HOURS
5. NURSERY SONGS
6. THE LIFE OF A DOLL
7. EDITH AND MILLY'S HOUSEKEEPING
8. THE STORY OF JOHN GILPIN
9. SING A SONG OF SIXPENCE
10. THE SEA-SIDE
11. THE ROBIN'S CHRISTMAS EVE
12. ROBIN HOOD AND HIS MERRY MEN
13. ALPHABET OF FRUITS
14. FRISKY THE SQUIRREL
15. COUNTRY PETS
16. PUSSY'S LONDON LIFE
17. HECTOR THE DOG
18. DICK WHITTINGTON
19. DIAMONDS AND TOADS
20. LILY SWEETBRIAR'S BIRTHDAY
21. UNCLE'S FARMYARD
22. LONDON ALPHABET
23. COUNTRY ALPHABET
24. GAMES AND SPORTS
25. HOUSEHOLD PETS
26. HARE AND TORTOISE
27. HEY DIDDLE DIDDLE
28. WORLD-WIDE FABLES
29. THE BIRTHDAY PARTY
30. KING, QUEEN, AND KNAVE OF HEARTS
31. COCK ROBIN'S COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, DEATH, AND BURIAL
32. CHILDREN'S LULLABIES
33. THE NURSERY ALPHABET
34. GOOD CHILDREN
35. BRUIN THE BEAR
36. DAME TROT AND HER CAT
37. HOME FOR THE HOLIDAYS

Warne's Picture Puzzle Toy Books.

THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN
THE NURSERY PLAY-BOOK
OUR HOLIDAYS
HOLIDAY FUN
OUR KINGS AND QUEENS
THE DOLL AND HER DRESSES
THE BOOK OF TRADES
THE HORSE

Warne's Children's Music Books.

WITH APPROPRIATE WORDS, HYMNS, &c.

1. THE CHILDREN'S HOUR. Twelve Songs for the Little Ones, set to Music; with a Morning and Evening Hymn. Edited by Mrs. G. H. CURTEIS.
2. SONGS FOR OUR LITTLE FRIENDS. Set to Music by E. R. B. Twelve Nursery Ditties.
3. THE CHILDREN'S MUSICAL GEM. Fourteen Nursery Ditties. By Madame BORRANI.
4. THE NURSERY NIGHTINGALE. Ditties for the Children. By Madame BORRANI.

THE CHILDREN'S MUSICAL COMPANION.
Comprising Books 1, 2, 3, and 4, bound in One Volume.

Warne's Victoria Toy Books.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.
CONTENTS OF PACKET.

EDITH'S ALPHABET
SUNDAY ALPHABET
ROYAL ALPHABET
NURSERY SONGS
COCK ROBIN'S DEATH
OLD MOTHER HUBBARD
PUSS IN BOOTS
OUR PETS
PUNCH AND JUDY
LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD
ALEXANDRA ALPHABET
NURSERY RHYMES

Warne's Picture Playmates.

1. THE RED RIDING HOOD PLAYMATE.
THE OBJECT ALPHABET
LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD
COCK ROBIN'S MARRIAGE
THE CHILDREN IN THE WOOD
OLD MOTHER HUBBARD
COCK ROBIN'S DEATH

2. THE NATURAL HISTORY PLAYMATE.
NURSERY RHYME ALPHABET
OUR PETS
HORSES
BIRDS
ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS
THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT

3. THE JACK IN THE BOX PLAYMATE.
EDITH'S ALPHABET
JACK IN THE BOX
THE BOOK OF TRADES
PUNCH AND JUDY
GULLIVER'S TRAVELS
CINDERELLA

4. THE NURSERY PLAYMATE.
NURSERY LULLABIES
BANQUET OF BIRDS
NURSERY NUMBERS
THE ROBINS
THE SILLY LITTLE BAA
THE TINY TEA-PARTY

LONDON: FREDERICK WARNE & Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden.
NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, WELFORD, AND ARMSTRONG.

Figure 2.9: Image of *Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books* series (Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1880, price 1s or 2s mounted). Showing back cover with the range of other series advertised alongside the *Sunday* books.

Books were being sold alongside *Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books, Warne's Children's Music Books, Warne's Victoria Toy Books* and other series that do not have a religious focus.

In other words, toy books show that, just as in the first half of the century with chapbooks, there is a continual slippage between the religious and the secular in popular children's fiction. A series of works advertised may well contain a strong mixture of moral, religious, and secular stories, setting romances and fairy tales alongside retellings of the lost lamb and the prodigal son. The implication, therefore, is that religious ideas and teachings were so much a part of the normal culture within popular fiction for children that there was no need to create a separate space for them away from other secular works, even later in the century, when concerns that the general population was become less religious abounded. Not only that, but just as with chapbooks, these texts were intended to generate profit, and the vast majority of them were not produced by religious publishing houses, indicating again firstly that religious stories were considered profitable, whether because they were bought by individuals or in bulk by organisations, and secondly that the dual aims of profit and religious education existed alongside one another within the market of cheap children's print.

The fact that these books were redefining what cheap printing was capable of in terms of illustrations and quality of physical product does not mean their contents were always as cutting edge as their printing techniques. With some exceptions, such as Juliana Horatia Ewing's *Verse Tales* (SPCK, London, 32 pages, chromolithograph illustrations by R. Andre, sold for one shilling), the vast majority of toy books continued to retell the same stories that latter-day chapbooks had maintained an interest in, often with very little difference in focus or tone. But of those few works that attempt to move away from Tom Thumb and Cock Robin, one series in the corpus made up of scripture retellings stands out as being of particularly poor in terms of the quality of its religious instruction: *Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books* (Frederick Warne and Co., 1880). This short series contains such insights as 'Children must never be proud, or God will not love them,' which perhaps flies in the face of Christian theology. It also notes that 'Timothy [referring to St Timothy, one of Paul's trusted helpers who set up and led a number of early Churches] has only the Old Testament to read, but Christian children have the beautiful stories of the New Testament also', implying that Timothy was not, in fact, Christian (*Children of the New Testament* 18, 22). Essentially, the texts of these works appear to have been put together quite quickly without any major editorial insight – which makes sense, in the context of a genre that is primarily visual. Well-known stories including 'The Lost Sheep' and 'The Prodigal Son' provide scope for interesting visual interpretation, and if the story was one that the purchaser was familiar with, they would not need to be able to read fluently in order to understand them.

Alongside these observations, the texts also demonstrate why many works of popular children's fiction tended to stick to very simple precepts and lessons, as the text often struggles desperately to explain, or even explain away, more complex theological questions. In *The Parables of Our Lord* (Warne, 1880), the narrator attempts to justify the virgins who had preserved their lamp oil refusing to share with those who had run out:

> the wise virgins were not unkind to the foolish ones when they would not give them some oil, because it is not possible for us to help each other, when we are called by JESUS to go to him. We cannot give other people our good works. You cannot understand this yet, but the virgins were not unkind. (14)

But this statement not only rings false (the lamps do not stand as metaphors for good works), the desperate desire to assure child readers that they cannot understand because they are children but eventually will only serves to demonstrate how difficult teaching more in-depth theology through children's fiction can be. Equally, sometimes the lessons ascribed to the parables are just out of place. For example, after the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, where the rich man who went to hell begged to be allowed to warn his family, the narrator explains that

> he [Abraham] said unto him, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." This parable teaches us not to be greedy, and unkind to other people – for only those who are kind, and loving, and unselfish, can live with God in heaven after they die. (18)

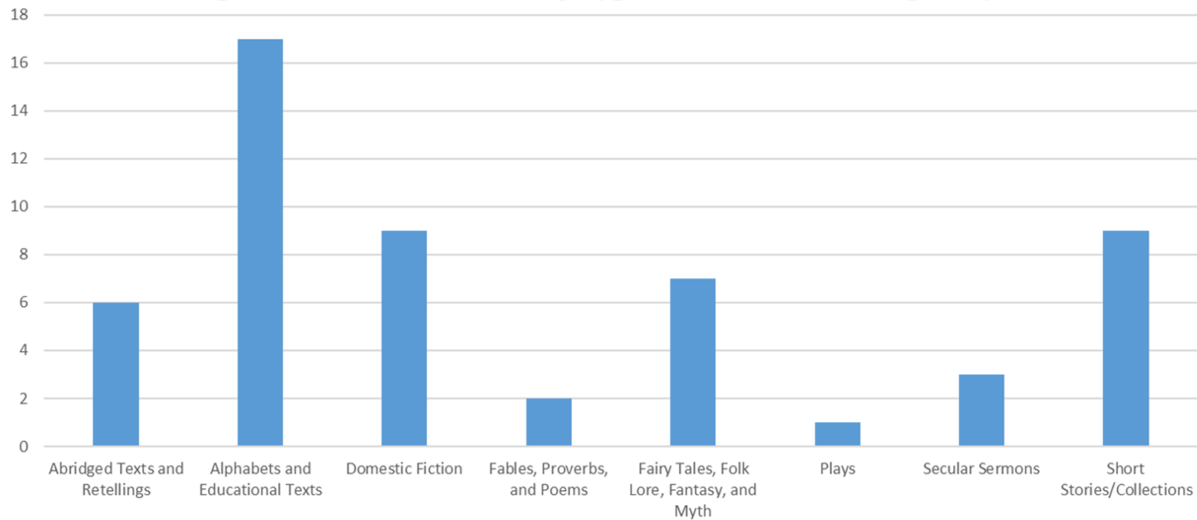
This is a very bizarre lesson to attach to this parable. The Bible quotation above explains that the parable is showing that there is no point in sending miraculous signs and wonders to unbelievers who have already made their decision, as they will never change their views. It is utterly unclear what this has to do with not being greedy, and being kind to people in order to get into heaven. Overall, the series is one of the few that so closely examines scripture, and serves as an example of why most publishers of toy books avoided anything beyond simple retellings of canonical Bible stories. It must thus be concluded that while Type A toy books may have been an exciting market innovation in terms of production and printing techniques, their contents do not generally stray hugely from the children's chapbooks and tracts that had

come before them. There is the same general mixing of religious and secular themes within a series, again indicating the continued profitability in religious texts. Scripture retellings were generally fairly simple, and concentrated on well-known stories like the lost sheep, with the exception of *Aunt Louisa*, which demonstrates the difficulties around straying from these canonical scriptural tales.

In the end, then, three conclusions can be reached. First, a single kind of text such as the chapbook or toy book would often encompass multiple genres, including domestic fiction, sermons, rhymes, and fairy tales. Secondly, the secular or religious purposes of these different kinds of text could at times be blurred or multiple, aiming to both make profit and to convert. Thirdly, the same style of story could be used across different kinds of text, even when they are separated by several decades of time, such as the use of the lecturing family member in *The Sister's Gift* and *A Traveller's Story*, meaning that not only were Type A texts still be produced late in the nineteenth century, but they were still utilising the same techniques as earlier works were. And finally, the same series of books could contain both religious and secular texts, meaning that the binaries between the two areas were not absolute, and that indeed there was a great deal of slippage and intertwining between the two.

This slippage and the blurred state of the boundary between the religious and the secular is also evident in Type C texts. Cheap children's texts in the nineteenth century were not just split into didactic works and texts with no dominant religious or moral lessons: there were also a number of texts that demonstrate a high degree of slippage between religious and secular writings. The lines between these two areas are far more indefinite and fuzzy than previous histories of children's literature have suggested. From Darton to Avery, critics have always treated religious texts as separate from secular ones. J. S. Bratton has a chapter dedicated to specifically Evangelical texts; Grenby splits books about the Bible and religion apart from other genres; and Demers devotes her entire volume, *Heaven upon Earth: The Form of Moral and*

Figure 2.10: Chart showing Type C Texts in the Corpus by Genre



Religious Literature, to 1850 to religious and moral didactic fiction. This is not incorrect: didactic texts are written with a separate purpose from non-didactic texts and thus need to be examined from different angles. But such a rigid line, with religion and didacticism grouped together on one side and secular and imaginative stories on the other fails to take into account that there was a grey area between these two kinds of text, in which religion was presented in a non-didactic format. The existence of Type C texts – that is, texts that make reference to religion without it being a major focus of the text – alongside the multiple aims of both religious and profit-making publishers reveals that the separation between the two realms was not a straightforward one.

As Figure 2.10 shows, Type C texts existed from the very beginning of the century and continued to be published, if in decreasing numbers, through the final decades of the century. There are never a large number of them in comparison to other Types, but their constancy indicates that they did not merely appear to replace didacticism, or as a sort of bridging between didacticism and secular works, but rather that they existed alongside both Type A and Type D texts simultaneously. Not only that, but as Figure 2.10 above shows, Type C texts, like Type A, cover a large variety of genres. Of these, Alphabets and Educational Texts are the most

common. This makes sense because, as discussed in the Introduction, a large number of primers in the earlier decades of the century still included the Lord's Prayer and other scriptures alongside basic reading and writing instruction.

However, the Lord's Prayer was not the only kind of religious reference made in cheap educational works. One example of an early Type C text is *Punctuation in Verse; or, The Good Child's Book of Stops*, published by Dean and Munday c. 1826-28 with 36 pages and sold for one shilling. The text contains a set of rhymes and images designed to help children to learn their punctuation. For example, the rhyme accompanying Figure 2.11 explains it shows 'Aunt Prim', who looks like a colon, and then continues on to give examples of how a colon is used in text. The text contains stanzas such as

> At each *Semicolon* take a breath, and tell *two*;
>
> As, "This is a Christian; the other, a Jew." (*Punctuation in Verse* 6)

and

> Good morrow, says Interrogation,
>
> Who often causes much vexation;
>
> For sometimes, like a judge, he'll ask
>
> "Who gave you leave? Who set your task?" (22)

But while both of these rhymes and the images accompanying the verses in the text attempt to teach punctuation, there is no overarching moral or religious lesson, and the fast-paced rhymes and cartoonish illustrations offer an example of levity and humour. Not only that, but the sentence, 'This is a Christian; the other, a Jew' is given no explanation or emphasis at all. There is no moment to attempt to suggest that one of these might be superior to the other, or that a Christian is preferable to a Jew, as would perhaps have been expected given general views of Judaism at the time: rather, they are simply placed alongside one another as the example

Figure 2.11: Image of *Punctuation in Verse; or, The Good Child's Book of Stops* (Dean and Munday, c. 1826-1828, price 1s) . Showing page with coloured woodcut and rhyme about 'Aunt Prim', who the text claims looks like a colon.

sentence and then moved on from. The casual handling of the sentence indicates an assumption that there is no need to explain what either of these things is, nor of their relation to one another.

This is a sharp contrast both to the kinds of anti-Semitism displayed in texts like *The Jewish Advocate*, and the kinds of emphasis placed on understanding and explaining Christian principles in Type A texts. Agnieszka Jagodzińska examines a more typical representation of Jewish people in her essay on periodicals published by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. She argues that these periodicals were often characterised by a focus on Biblical tales, particularly in the first half of the century. She states that

> [b]rowsing through rather dull looking and unappealing pages filled with summaries of biblical stories, short sketches on Jewish history and religion, missionary intelligence and poetry, one may get the impression that this children's periodical did not try to appeal to its selected audience. (387)

Jagodzińska goes on to argue that this format changes after 1854, with more 'appealing' stories, but still the overt purpose of the periodicals remained: to convince Christian children to contribute towards converting Jewish people. This is a stark contrast to *Punctuation in Verse*, where the Jew and the Christian simply exist together side by side, as if equal. Indeed, the semi colon itself a separation between two similar or connected statements, where if there was a full

stop instead there would be no relation between them. The loss of the didacticism does not just result in 'entertainment' over instruction, but rather moves the emphasis away from the differences between the two faiths altogether. This is not merely a differentiation between two teachings methods – overt and implicit – but rather a lack of interest in engaging with debate surrounding religion at all. The implication of *Punctuation in Verse*, unlike the periodicals specifically addressing Judaism, is that it is enough to acknowledge that two faiths simply exist, and nothing further is needed to be said.

However, not all Type C educational texts integrate their religious references without emphasis or pause. One earlier example of this is *The Child's Instructor,* a primer with prayers attached to its flaps, which is discussed in the Introduction. A later example of is *Baby Dot's ABC*, published by the RTS in 1880 with 15 pages and sold for sixpence. In this text, each letter of the alphabet has a word and picture attached. The vast majority of letters are represented by animals ('Bear', for example). The words that are not are: Judge; Ice; Negro; Rain; Urn; Valentine; Waits; Xmas Tree; and Yeoman. This odd collection covers a wide variety of subjects, and with the exception of the Christian roots of 'Xmas Tree' and 'Valentine', none of these images or words have any religious connotations at all. It is not until a rhyme given on the final page that any mention of God occurs. Here, the poet proclaims

> I am God's little child
>
> He made me for his own;
>
> I must be good and mild,
>
> And worship Him alone. (14)

It is notable, firstly, that the poem is not connected to any of the subjects displayed in the alphabet used in the rest of the text. Where the majority of Type C texts are like *Punctuation in Verse*, with any religious references kept casual and passed over quickly, here the religious poem is starkly separated from the rest of the text. Not only that, but this poem combines

religious belief with the moral imperative to be 'meek and mild', a phrase which itself is a description commonly associated with the infant Jesus. The religious and the moral are so intrinsically connected that they cannot be understood apart from each other. But neither the religious imagery nor the moral requirement is connected to the rest of the text. This could be because the poem exists in order to placate adult buyers by assuring them of religious intent, even in this later decade of the century. However, it is also possible to read the poem not as being separate from the rest of the text at all, but rather an intrinsic part of the primer despite the seeming change of focus. Given that the rest of the book is made of single, simple words to help aid early readers, this end poem would either have to be read aloud to the child or abandoned until later literacy skill is developed. In either case, reading the poem is far harder than reading the rest of the book: it is the end goal to aim for, after the basic instruction is achieved. In other words, the simple words and illustrations are merely the pathway through which the reader reaches the ability to comprehend the poem. The purpose of learning these secular words is so that the reader can access the religious poem: the aim of the act of reading itself is thus by extension connected to the Christian faith. Where earlier primers like *The Child's Instructor* used the Lord's Prayer, here the scripture has been replaced with a simpler rhyme. Yet the purpose of reading is still ultimately intended to be an act of worship, increasing reader' capacity for understanding God's word. Despite the steady rise in the number of Type D alphabets across the century, in at least some texts the connection between readings itself and the Christian faith continues to exist even in the 1870s.

One interesting example of the different applications of Type C texts is seen in two early publications: *Tabart's Improved Edition of the Seven Champions of Christendom with Coloured Plates* (Tabart & Co., 1804) and *The Seven Champions of Christendom* (no publisher, c. 1822-1832). Both are in the Hockliffe collection's online archive, which notes that the original *The Seven Champions of Christendom* was published in 1596-1597, possibly by

Richard Johnson. Both of these texts are either inspired by or following the tradition laid out in this text some two centuries previously. Andrew O'Malley's criticism of chapbook versions of *Robinson Crusoe* in his text *Children's Literature, Popular Culture, and Robinson Crusoe* examines the phenomenon of reprinted and simplified older texts in detail. He argues that in chapbooks, a lot of the difference resided in the different emphasis that the working classes put on repetition, and familiar elements from their oral traditions. He argues that

> [b]y rejecting certain key elements of Defoe's work while amplifying others to the point of distortion, these chapbooks shed light on how the labouring classes interacted with the dominant cultural and ideological formations of the period. (78)

While these two copies of *The Seven Champions of Christendom* are not necessarily strictly chapbooks (although both could certainly have been sold as such), they offer another view of how a different, also highly religious, older text was changed and rewritten for poorer nineteenth-century readerships.

The later of the two texts does not name a publisher, but does list a variety of other juvenile books for sale on the back cover, including *The Progress of Industry, The Babes in the Woods, Cock Robin's Death and Burial* and *My Mother*. Both texts are priced at 6d, and share the same seven characters: St George of England, St Anthony of Italy, St Andrew of Scotland, St Patrick of Ireland, St Denis of France, St James of Spain, and St David of Wales. Here, however, the surface similarities end. The anonymous text has a detailed black and white print, a title, and a paragraph about each saint on every printed page. The text has 16 pages, but each page is one sided, so that including the title there are only eight pages of text. By contrast, Tabart's version is 44 pages with three full-page illustrations. Tabart's text also tells a complete story about an adventure involving all seven saints, which concludes with St George defeating

a necromancer and freeing the other six saints. Although they have the same title and subject matter, then, the two texts appear very different from one another.

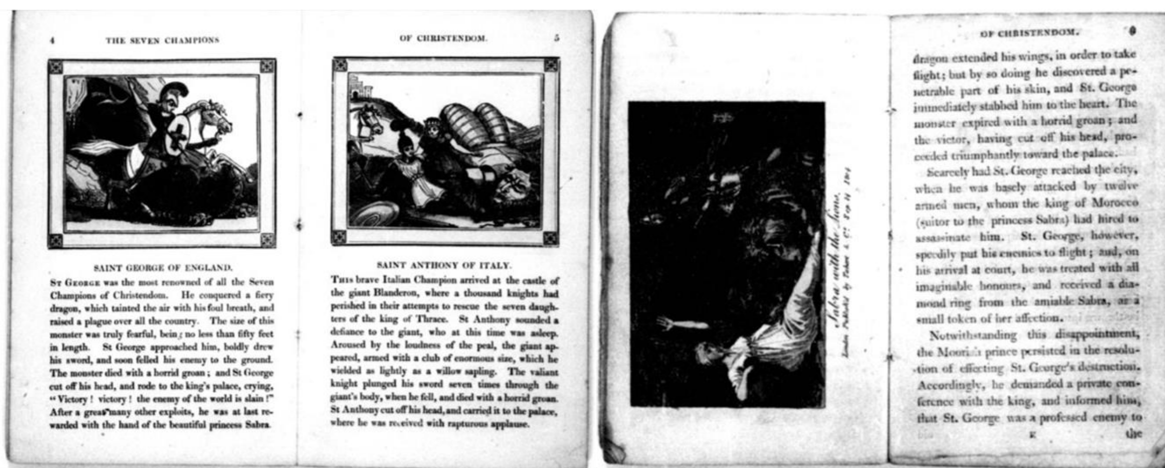
Despite this difference, both Tabart's and the anonymous versions of *Seven Champions* share a very similar tone. Both focus not on the piety and religion of the saints, but on their battle prowess and bravery. In the anonymous text, God is only mentioned once, and the reference is passed over quickly. When discussing the Scottish saint, the author relates that

> St Andrew laughed at their idolatry, and told them that God alone ought to be worshipped, which called forth a challenge to mortal combat. St Andrew, mounted on his gallant charger, richly decorated with crimson and gold, rushed on his assailants with dreadful fury, and soon overcame them, which spread his fame all over the world. (8)

The focus is not on St Andrew's faith, but rather on the fact that he backs that faith up with bravery in cobat. It is St Andrew's deeds as a knight that are glorified, not God. Likewise, Tabart's version of the story concludes thus:

> The six champions, restored to light and liberty, embraced St George: and they all set out together to return to their native countries, where they lived honoured and beloved; and after their death their names were enrolled among the saints of Christendom. (44)

Here again the focus is on them living 'honoured and beloved', and particularly on St George's bravery. The composition of the end sentence, which connects their rise to sainthood with their being 'honoured' as well as their restoration to 'light and liberty', even implies that it was these things that led to them becoming saints, rather than their faith. In other words, these are not actually stories teaching the reader about the Christian faith as such, as they do not contain any moments of religious didacticism at all. Instead, the saints are vehicles through which ideals of medieval chivalry are displayed. In Tabart's case, it is further suggested that England, through



4 THE SEVEN CHAMPIONS

SAINT GEORGE OF ENGLAND.

St George was the most renowned of all the Seven Champions of Christendom. He conquered a fiery dragon, which tainted the air with his foul breath, and raised a plague over all the country. The size of this monster was truly fearful, being no less than fifty feet in length. St George approached him, boldly drew his sword, and soon felled his enemy to the ground. The monster died with a horrid groan; and St George cut off his head, and rode to the king's palace, crying, "Victory! victory! the enemy of the world is slain!" After a great many other exploits, he was at last rewarded with the hand of the beautiful princess Sabra.

OF CHRISTENDOM. 5

SAINT ANTHONY OF ITALY.

This brave Italian Champion arrived at the castle of the giant Blanderon, where a thousand knights had perished in their attempts to rescue the seven daughters of the king of Thrace. St Anthony sounded a defiance to the giant, who at this time was asleep. Aroused by the loudness of the peal, the giant appeared, armed with a club of enormous size, which he wielded as lightly as a willow sapling. The valiant knight plunged his sword seven times through the giant's body, when he fell, and died with a horrid groan. St Anthony cut off his head, and carried it to the palace, where he was received with rapturous applause.

OF CHRISTENDOM.

dragon extended his wings, in order to take flight; but by so doing he discovered a penetrable part of his skin, and St. George immediately stabbed him to the heart. The monster expired with a horrid groan; and the victor, having cut off his head, proceeded triumphantly toward the palace.

Scarcely had St. George reached the city, when he was basely attacked by twelve armed men, whom the king of Morocco (suitor to the princess Sabra) had hired to assassinate him. St. George, however, speedily put his enemies to flight; and, on his arrival at court, he was treated with all imaginable honours, and received a diamond ring from the amiable Sabra, as a small token of her affection.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the Moorish prince persisted in the resolution of effecting St. George's destruction. Accordingly, he demanded a private conference with the king, and informed him, that St. George was a professed enemy to the

Figure 2.12: Images of texts titled *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. Left: *Tabart's Improved Edition of The Seven Champions of Christendom* (Tabart & Co., 1804). Right: *The Seven Champions of Christendom* (publisher unknown, c. 1822-1832, right).

its association with St George, is the most chivalrous of all, as it was he who saved the others from the necromancer. The implication is that Christianity itself is, through the actions of these saints, a chivalric faith that reveres and honours a specific kind of masculinity. None of this is outright stated, of course: the association alone carries the weight of meaning. In the end, the use of Christian characters achieves more than simply linking the religious and the secular together: here, that connection is used to then link both nationalism and specific expectations of gendered behaviour to religion as well. All of these ideas – of gender, nation, and faith – are thus intertwined together in both of these texts, despite the difference in their presentation and storytelling.

In the end, Type C texts are printed, albeit in smaller numbers to any other category, across the entire nineteenth century. They are published alongside both secular and religious texts, and are not confined to any one genre or topic. Their existence bridges the gap between the secular and religious, and further complicates that blending through implicating a religious connection between particular social norms, including ideas of gender and nationalism. Not only that, but publishers themselves often had more than one aim in producing religious or secular texts, and these aims neither appear to be at odds with one another nor confined to one

specific part of the century. Where previous children's book historians such as Patricia Demers have focussed on specifically didactic religious and moral children's literature and have understood it to fade out in the mid-nineteenth century, cheap print reveals not only that didactic texts continued to exist for longer, but also that an examination of religious children's fiction that confines itself to the didactic is ultimately incomplete. The boundary between the secular and the religious within cheap nineteenth-century children's literature is thus far less rigid, and far more complex, than has previously been suggested.

Conclusion

There are two main findings of this examination of religion in cheap children's print across the nineteenth century. Firstly, there is a continual slippage between the secular and the religious, with chapbooks and toy books displaying series with both secular and religious themes. This is a direct contradiction to arguments made by critics such as Gillian Avery, who has suggested that there was such a huge gap between evangelical works for the poor and texts for the wealthy that the two readerships would not have understood one another's texts. It also creates a line of connection between the kinds of texts examined by Demers, and those hailed as 'literature' by Darton and other children's book historians. The same series of works can contain both secular and religious texts. The same genre, including sermon-style non-fiction texts, can be used to discuss both religious and secular ideas. Even where there is a clear religious message, the line between printing primarily for profit and primarily for religious reasons is blurred and uncertain. Across the entire century, there is a great interconnection between the religious and the secular across all types of cheap children's print. This is important, partly because such a slippage indicates firstly that religion itself really was simply a part of everyday life in a way that modern critics perhaps do not take into consideration. More intriguing, however, is the fact

that such a slippage means that the lines drawn between the moral, the religious, and the secular that have been used to discuss the history of children's literature, particularly when comparing 'instruction' to 'delight' are themselves flawed. Previous critics, including Demers, have argued that there was entertainment in didactic works, and no critic has ever attempted to claim that there exists anywhere a children's text that was not instructional at some level. This thesis goes further by demonstrating that the distance between 'entertainment' and 'instruction' was not as extreme as has previously been assumed.

Secondly, religious concerns and teachings did not simply disappear in the middle of the century, but rather continued to permeate through both fictional and non-fictional texts to the very end of the period. Previous historians, including Thwaite and Egoff, have argued that there was a sudden and abrupt shift away from didacticism and towards primarily entertaining texts. This chapter has shown that, where cheap texts are concerned, the movement away from the didactic was both slower and far less extreme. Indeed, where chapbooks are concerned, the religious themes begin to dominate the genre and then continue in tracts and sermons that retained a similar physical appearance to the chapbooks. In periodicals, there were clear distinctions between religious and secular material and some small attempts to explore denominational differences within the Christian Church. Non-fictional religious works also had a steady presence throughout the century. There is a shift away from didacticism within fiction, but this shift does not result in its elimination and is by no means complete. Not only that, but even within the didactic texts, implicit assumptions build ideological beliefs that both shape the readings of the texts, and create a framework of unquestioned social norms that favoured those in power under the current social system. In the end, despite the fact that there was an increase in the number of Type D texts on the market, Type A and Type B texts did not simply disappear over the course of the century. Rather, religious didacticism remained entrenched in certain spaces within cheap, popular, and ephemeral children's literature long after the

beginning of the ‘Golden Age’ of canonical children’s literature had begun. This finding is particularly exciting because it suggests that our previous understanding of the entire overarching development of children’s literature is ultimately incomplete: these cheap texts, which make up the vast majority of what was on the market, tell a very different story to the canonical works previously used as a standard of judgement.

Chapter 3. Domesticity and Gender

> [M]y time is spent in training my children, as far as I am able, to wisdom and knowledge [...] I teach my daughters to love home, and to render themselves useful in retirement, rather than to seek admiration abroad: and it is my great desire that they should use the powers which they inherit, in doing good to others, rather than in pleasing themselves. (*The Rose: A Fairy Tale*, 1834)

This quotation is from *The Rose: A Fairy Tale*, an 1834 text published by Houlston and Son, no price given, with paper covers and six woodcut illustrations. In it, a woman takes a walk in her garden at night to find the Fairy Queen holding court, where she praises a mother and daughter pair for their dutifulness and expresses pleasure with the mother's child-rearing philosophy. The story encapsulates the ways in which ideology surrounding the home, domesticity, morality, motherhood, and femininity are connected in fiction for children. Indeed, these five things are frequently so intertwined, particularly in the genre of domestic fiction, that it can become virtually impossible to separate them out from each other and their influences and dependence on one another. Each of these elements – femininity, motherhood, and the home – combine to create the prevailing domestic ideology that prioritised child-rearing as a woman's duty, and viewed the mother as the proper source of moral and spiritual education.

While much work on domestic fiction has been done on adult texts published in the nineteenth century, there is very little criticism that explores this form of writing in nineteenth-century children's literature, and even less that examines cheap children's literature in this period. Lisa Rowe Fraustino and Karen Coats suggest several possible reasons for this lack in the introduction to their edited essay collection, *Mothers in Children's and Young Adult*

Literature: From Eighteenth Century to Postfeminism (2016). They point out the lack of previous criticism, stating that:

> The range of critical approaches to mothers in children's and young adult literature in the published scholarship does not yet begin to approach the volume and quality of attention paid to mothers in other disciplines, including psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, women's studies, and of course, literature for adults. (n.p.)

They go on to suggest that there are several factors impacting this gap in the critical conversation, including the lasting influence of Freud, but conclude that the true difficulty lies in the 'vexed relationship between feminism and motherhood studies' (n.p.). But leaving out one of the most important roles of women due to its modern connection to a specific kind of politics is to silence a significant part of the conversation not only around gender, but around representations of childhood itself. Mothers and the domestic sphere dominate a great portion of the lives of children: a fact that is reflected, as this chapter demonstrates, in how predominant the domestic genre is in the field of nineteenth-century cheap children's books. To ignore it would be to badly eschew any understanding of the cheap children's print market.

Indeed, a previous lack of critical attention in no way indicates that the genre is either limited or unimportant. Instead, as this chapter shows, a significant amount of cheap domestic children's fiction was produced across the century. These texts use many of the same tropes and representations of ideology surrounding the domestic, motherhood, and the extended family that canonical texts do, but the utilisation of these tropes in cheaper works serves to reveal the unease and contradictions on which these ideologies are built. This chapter continues the work of highlighting the importance of middle-class ideologies within nineteenth-century children's literature, focusing particularly on the imposition of ideologies of the home onto working-class child readers. This is not, of course, to suggest that cheap domestic children's

literature from 1799 to 1890 is merely a place in which typical ideologies surrounding domesticity are unproblematically reproduced: rather, the domestic can be understood as a peculiarly gendered space in which morality, family, and the domestic setting are examined and interpreted in a wide variety of ways that go beyond the confines of simplistic binaries that can be applied neatly to all cheap domestic children's literature.

So what, exactly, is domestic fiction as a genre, and how does it function within cheap print for children? Agreeing a precise definition of 'domestic' is not straightforward. In general, the term is used to describe those things or actions that take place in, or have to do with, the home. It is also, as will be discussed below, intrinsically connected with femininity. The domestic sphere, therefore, encompasses anything primarily attached to the home. This most obviously includes those things inside the home – domestic tasks, such as cleaning, but other activities such as family prayers and dining together would fall into the same bracket. It is important to note, as well, that many of these tasks and activities also extend beyond the physical confines of the house. Kathy Mezei and Chiara Briganti acknowledge this extension in their essay 'Reading the House: A Literary Perspective' when they observe that

> domestic space implies more than houses and gardens (or the liminal spaces of garden gate, doorstep, porch, garage) and their archetypic, Freudian, anthropomorphic, or ontological significance. Domestic space implies the everyday, the rituals of domesticity in their cyclical, repetitive ordinariness. (842)

'The rituals of domesticity' would thus include a far wider range of things than simply the kinds of cooking, cleaning and childcare typically performed alongside employment outside the home undertaken by working-class women. Grocery shopping, for example, is still a domestic task despite taking place outside, because it is connected with the care of the inhabitants of the home. By the same logic, children running errands for their parents or the

management of servants are domestic tasks. Significantly for this discussion, such a definition encompasses the kinds of localised charitable works encouraged amongst wealthier women in the nineteenth century, and conceivably also discussions of work done by children to help a parent pay for the rent and upkeep of the house. Stories about working children are generally considered to form a different genre to the domestic, but in recognition of this broader understanding of the domestic, I have included works discussing children searching for employment for the express purpose of helping the household. The 'cyclical, repetitive ordinariness' of the domestic is not, therefore, exclusively a physical space, but rather the tasks and ideas most strongly associated with the predictability of the everyday home.

For the purposes of this discussion, I will be using an understanding of the domestic that recognises the full range of activities and behaviours associated with the domestic sphere and its representation in nineteenth-century arts and letters. As such, texts that explore children on walks, visiting relatives and friends, running errands, out in the local community, and those searching for employment due to concern for the home, are all included. In other words, this chapter examines those works in the corpus in which the home and the family are central, and ordinary everyday experience is foregrounded. Among these are some works of adventure involving a movement from home to away and back, for in some of the examples below this pattern maintains a focus on the domestic. This focus is achieved through the use of frames, dreams and embedded stories, as when works involve daydreams, visions, and tales told to child characters. These devices provide a sense of movement beyond the immediate confines of home while still keeping child characters safely within the domestic realm. In this way, they create alternative spaces where characters and readers can address and adjust to the needs and demands of home life. For poorer children, the need for alternatives could be considerable; as the discussion below shows, cheap print acknowledges the privations arising from poverty, environment, alcohol, squalor, lack of education and more.

It is not possible to discuss the domestic without acknowledging the inherently gendered nature of this space. Nancy Armstrong's *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (1989) examines the historic connections between class, gender, and domesticity. She demonstrates, through the evolution of conduct books, that it is not in fact possible to separate ideal femininity from the domestic sphere within the discourses of the nineteenth century, and that that ideal is founded on specific ideas of the middle classes. Armstrong convincingly argues that this ideal was based on the separation of the feminine from competition with the 'economic man'. She states that

> The writing [of conduct books] assumed that an education ideally made a woman desire to be what a prosperous man desires, which is above all else a female. She therefore had to lack the competitive desires and worldly ambitions that consequently belonged – as if by some natural principle – to the male (67)

If the definition of the ideal woman is thus one who is not in competition with the ideal man, she must be given her own space to exist in outside of the economic sphere that defines him. The home became that sphere, and was made out to be as separate from the world of business and politics – the supposed realm of men – as possible. In order to fit this ideal, the home sphere itself had to be devoid of competition, of ambition, and of conflict. The domestic sphere and the women who inhabited it thus became a retreat from such things. Armstrong argues that this image became so powerful that by the nineteenth century, conduct books for women had become less common, not because the ideas no longer existed, but because, 'by this time the ideal had passed into the domain of common sense' and thus no longer needed to be reiterated (71). She goes on to argue that this ideal encompassed a wide range of incomes – essentially everyone who was not either an aristocrat or the 'labouring poor' – and that the popularity of these conduct books is grounds for suggesting that a large middle class actually began to exist

earlier than had previously been believed (71). This is particularly intriguing, because it indicates that the middle classes themselves were initially united by the same domestic ideal: ideas of the home and the femininity connected people of various income levels before any other social beliefs did. In other words, the existence of the middle classes themselves as a distinct entity within society was founded on the ideology of the domestic sphere, and the particular kind of femininity associated with it. But what did this mean for those classes who were not a part of this united ideal? How could these ideas of the domestic space, and the women who supposedly embodied these ideas, fit outside of the middle classes? How, in other words, are we to understand the way an image so central to one class identity worked within the context of a different social class? The only possible way to answer these questions is to examine the use of the domestic within the cheap print intended for the children of these poorer classes.

With the parameters now established, it becomes possible to begin to answer these questions. Figure 1.4 in Chapter 1 shows that within my corpus, 29% of texts (a total of 244) can be considered domestic fiction. The sheer number of these texts renders the ways in which they differ in their approaches to the home, femininity, and parenthood are significant phenomena to examine and understand. The volume of material, however, also makes it impossible to discuss all of the different elements that these texts cover and reveal. As a result, this chapter addresses only two major themes that are also broadly indicative of the attitudes and representations of the domestic sphere across the corpus. These are first, the place and role of the mother character, and second, the role of other adult authority figures, both within and without the extended family. Such figures include benefactors of poorer child characters. Focusing on just two areas inevitably results in a lack of discussion around a number of important roles, such as, for example, the father. However, this discussion prioritises mothers, both the most commonly represented adult figure and the one on which ideas of the domestic

are built, because they are indisputably preeminent in any discussion of the domestic. As will become apparent, together these two aspects of the domestic provide a sufficiently comprehensive view of the tropes that surround the genre to successfully examine the ways in which these tropes are built on uneasy assumptions and some underlying anxiety surrounding the role and strength of the domestic ideal.

Mother Characters

Ideologies of motherhood were central to middle-class identity in nineteenth-century Britain. Critics such as Ann Alston in *The Family in English Children's Literature* (2008) and Anna Davin in 'Imperialism and Motherhood' from *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (1997), alongside many family and social historians, have acknowledged the cultural and political significance of ideal motherhood, as well as the inherent gap between the ideal and the lived realities of most mothers and children. Mothers feature prominently in Romantic-era and Victorian novels, but given young children's high levels of dependence, mother characters are particularly prominent in writing for children as a whole, and cheap print is no exception.

There is a tendency within canonical children's literature for mother characters to conform to specific ideologies of femininity. While gender in children's literature is a vast and wide-ranging area of study, in cheap children's literature produced in the nineteenth century, few roles are shown to be as traditionally gendered as those of parents. However, the relationship between masculinity and femininity and their impact on parental roles, the domestic, and the moral lessons of the text, varies widely across different texts and different time periods. While a mother's influence is often as much a feature of the text as studies of the

period suggest it will be, in keeping with the prevailing version of motherhood, mothers often quietly affect events from behind the scenes. In this way the domestic sphere within cheap print for children remains explicitly and traditionally gendered.

Both this gendering within the domestic space and the resultant foregrounding of the mother character are evident in Figure 3.1, which shows parental presence in cheap domestic children's literature. In this figure, texts have been split into several categories. 'Absent' refers to texts where no parent is mentioned, but they could theoretically be part of the family unit, or parents are referred to in passing without mention of their opinion or impact on a child's activities or decision-making. 'Background Character' includes texts where a mother or father is mentioned, but then either does not appear or does so fleetingly and makes no impact on the overarching plot of the story. 'Both Present' means that both parents are physically present, and have lines of dialogue that directly impact the events of the story, with 'Mother Present' and 'Father Present' involving texts where this occurs with only one parent. 'Negative Portrayal' includes both background and present parents who are shown in a negative light 'No Child Character' includes texts that do not have a child character and so no parents are required,

Figure 3.1: Chart showing Parental Presence in Domestic Fiction Texts in the Corpus

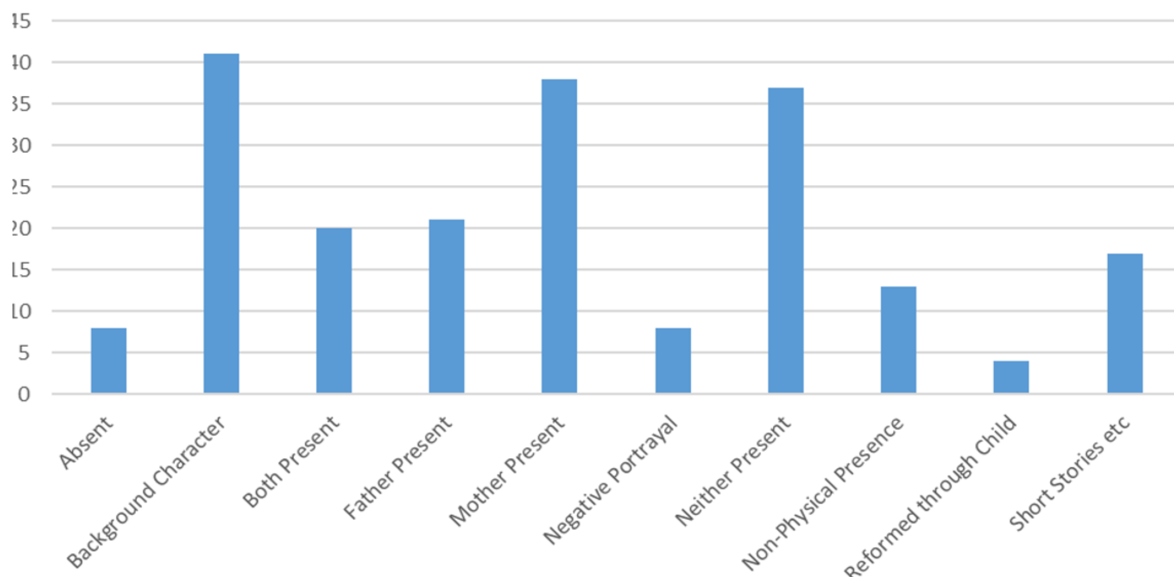
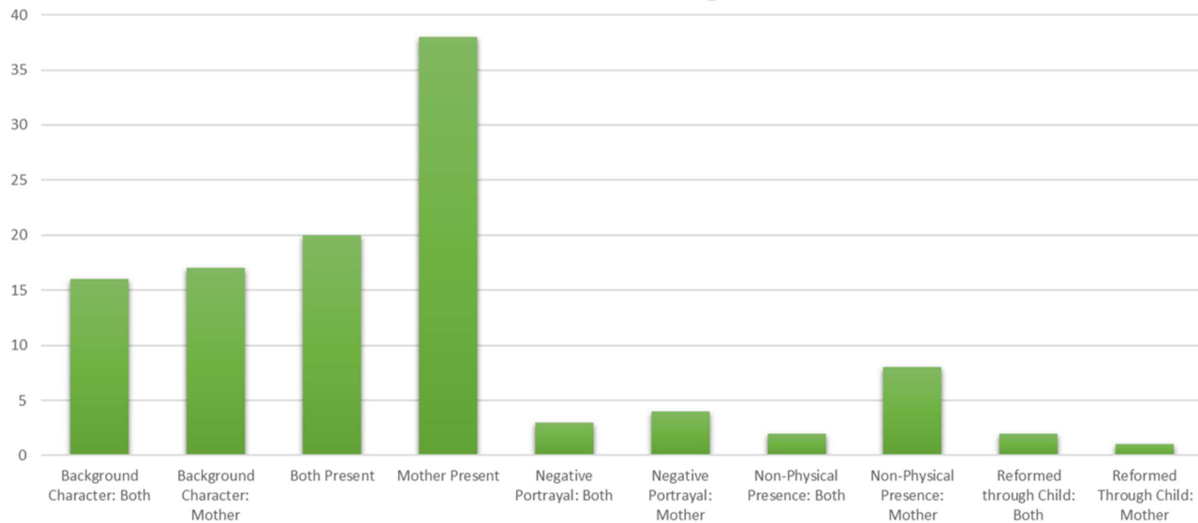


Figure 3.2: Chart showing Presence of Mother Character in Domestic Fiction Texts in the Corpus



and often involves stories about servants. ‘Non-Physical Presence’ refers to texts where parent characters are absent, but memories of their teachings guide the way in which the child character acts. ‘Reformed through the Child’ includes parent characters who learn to be good through the influence of their son or daughter, usually after their conversion to Christianity. Finally, ‘Short Stories’ refers to collections of tales with domestic themes where the stories all offer different portrayals of parent characters. None of these is an absolute category, and there can be crossover: a story where the father is mentioned but the mother is heavily involved in the plot and physically present, for example, would fall into the ‘Mother Present’ category. Attempting to include every possible combination of parental presence would have rendered the chart unreadable, and so some simplification was necessary. A further breakdown of mother characters is provided in Figure 3.2. Even so, this chart clearly demonstrates that while there were texts in which one or both parents exerted influence over their children without being physically present, or else maintained a background presence without directly interfering with the events of the plot, there are also a large number of texts in which the mother, the father, or both are significant, present characters who directly intervene in the text. Indeed, the only category of parent figure which is more numerous than present mothers is the one in which

both parents are absent: a category that includes texts exploring orphans and children raised by extended families - a topic that will be explored later in this chapter.

Mothers are very prominent figures in cheap domestic children's literature, and not merely as background characters. A huge number of critics, including Martin A. Danahay in 'Housekeeping and Hegemony in Dickens's *Bleak House* from *Keeping the Victorian House* (1995) and Elisabeth Jay in *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (1979) have recognised the prevalence of feminine attributes of retirement, respectability, attachment to the home, and 'influence'. While these critics argue that the ideal did not reflect reality and that many works of fiction attempt either to subvert or resist gender ideologies – especially for females - their strength and longevity in the public imagination is irrefutable. However, as Figure 3.2 shows, mother characters in different texts are given different degrees of attention, meaning that there are a variety of ways in which the role and purpose of mothers is represented; this generally depends on the amount of focus that the text concedes or assigns to them. The categories used here are split in the same way as Figure 3.1, but focussed on texts where the mother character has a strong presence, sometimes alongside other parental figures. As Figure 3.2 indicates, some examples of cheap domestic children's literature expressly set the mother character in the background, where she might have a few lines of dialogue, but no significant impact on the plot or the activities of the other characters.

All of these charts, however, explore only the tropes themselves, and not their impact or presentation. Establishing how these ideas and conventions are utilised requires close examination of a sample of representative and outlying cheap texts that make use of the range of mother characters, accord them varying levels of prominence in the text, and show different mother-child relationships. One example of a text with a present mother character is *The*

Unhappy Boy Made Happy, a 12-page text published by the RTS in c. 1870, no price given, with one woodcut illustration. This text tells the story of a little boy who gets up late one day and rushes through the morning making mistakes that later catch up with him. He is scolded by his mother, who tells him that

> "[t]he fault has been in yourself. You began the day in the wrong way. Instead of rising early, you lay in bed a long time. You were called two or three times, but you thought you would lie a little longer." (2)

The next day, Charles wakes up early and is able to complete all of his tasks in good time, releasing him from the stress of rushing. The mother is not merely there, but an active and pivotal part of the lesson of the story. Without her teaching and guidance, it is implied, Charles would not have reformed, and would have continued to struggle with the same faults. This impact of the mother's speech is immediately apparent: straightforward, blunt, and practical, she makes it clear that she attempted to aid Charles more than once, but also that she wanted him to learn the lesson himself, and so did not wake him. The practical is also not left by itself, but rather is entwined with the spiritual and moral. Charles failed to get up early, and as a result both his productivity and his temper suffered throughout the day. When he heeds his mother's advice to get up on time the next day, not only does he accomplish all of his tasks well, he is also a better person. Thus, the practical everyday repetition of getting up early is connected to a deeper moral outcome, and the centre of the wisdom providing the solution is the mother.

It is notable, however, that despite being a cheaper text (evident through its short length and the use of a single woodcut illustration, despite no price being given on the text itself), the family represented here is not typically working-class. These cheap texts were primarily published for readerships that would not be able to afford more expensive texts, and so it would be logical for them to provide representations of the home sphere that were familiar to working-

class children. Here, though, the mother's constant presence is reliant on the family being well enough off that she is able to be at home with her children, and to send them to school rather than to work, where Charles's initial unpunctuality and laziness would have had far worse consequences. Without her presence, and thus her awareness of her children's habits, she would not have been able to correct Charles's behaviour. Alston's *The Family in English Children's Literature* examines the representation of families and the domestic setting in canonical children's fiction. Her chapter on the nineteenth century begins by observing that

> [t]he majority of the families in this chapter could be classified as middle or upper class and this is in many ways fitting in terms of the audience that nineteenth-century children's literature was designed to address. (27)

Since most canonical works were more expensive, and thus generally intended for the children of wealthier families, the preponderance of comfortably-off families is unsurprising. What is interesting is the inclusion of middle-class roles and behaviours in these inexpensive works. In the case of *The Unhappy Boy Made Happy* given that the entire solution to Charles' dilemma relies on his mother seeing his actions, it seems necessary to conclude that this example of motherhood, reliant as it is on her being physically available to her children, would be difficult to emulate in a busy, poor, working-class household. This reveals a dilemma for those writing about the domestic sphere for the working classes: if the solution relies on the mother's presence, and the mother can only be there if the household is relatively wealthy, this lesson cannot be translated across to the working-class home in its current form. The ideal role of the mother, and the domestic sphere itself, is so inherently middle-class that it cannot be removed from that setting. This constitutes a literary form of colonisation in which middle-class authors and publishers attempted to impose their own value system and ideologies on the lower classes in a way that presents it as simultaneously virtuous and the expected norm. As established at the beginning of this chapter, domestic fiction is built on the premise that it is supposed to

feature the 'cyclical, repetitive ordinariness' of the everyday, as Mezei and Briganti call it, and yet, for the majority of readers, the home as represented is alien and unfamiliar.

That ideal home and the ideal mother character are built on the assumption of middle-class norms is particularly evident in texts that examine children's education within the home. One text that demonstrates this is *The Coral Necklace: Intended for the Amusement of Children*, published by J. E. Evans, c. 1829-1839, and sold for fourpence. In this story a little girl shows off a new necklace to her mother, who objects that it is not useful. The girl responds by suggesting that her mother could teach her and her friends about what coral is, and thus make the necklace useful by turning it into an educational tool. She and her friends then lead on from the discussion of coral to multiple other things, and her mother teaches them from where many materials originate. In the end, the girl exclaims that the necklace has in fact been very useful:

> "If it had not been for it, I do not think we should have heard about gold, and coral, and ribbon, and carpets, and paper, and linen, and a great many more things that we did not know before. Thanks to my coral necklace! and thanks to you, dear Mamma, for having amused us so nicely" (30).

Throughout the story, the mother controls the conversation, guides the children's observations, and never once leaves any of them or their discussions unattended. All of this is, of course, dependant on the mother being able to accurately answer all of the children's questions. Only a highly educated mother, and one who was heavily involved in educating her children, could do so. By the nineteenth century, this was considered fairly standard amongst middle-class families, following the development of female education throughout the eighteenth century. Evelyn Arizpe, Morag Styles, and Shirley Brice Heath examine the role of female education in their exploration of Jane Johnson's educational ephemera in their critical text *Reading Lessons from the Eighteenth Century: Mothers, Children, and Texts* (2006). They argue that Johnson's

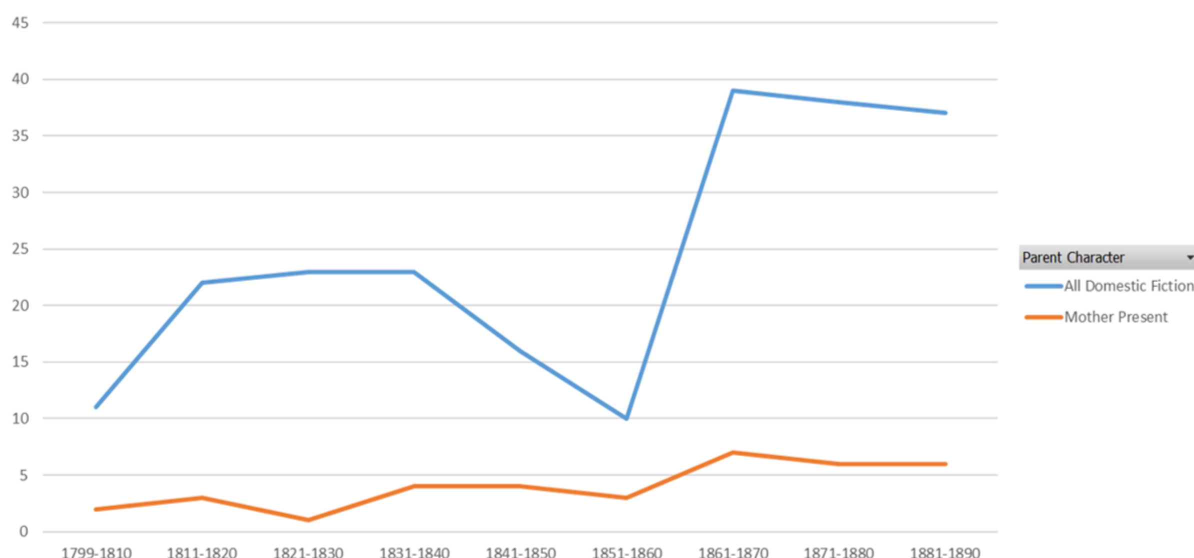
archives offer a case study of an ordinary middle-class household that demonstrates how mothers were heavily involved in their children's education. They note that

> [t]he interest in rational thought during the eighteenth century was quickly followed by the realisation that of the mother was to inculcate the "right" values and morals, as well as the "proper" knowledge (as opposed to superstition and false notions), she had to be educated herself. (7)

While this was a relatively new idea towards the beginning of the eighteenth century; by the nineteenth century it was generally expected that middle-class mothers would have a significant impact on the education of their children, including making educational tools in the way that Johnson does. However, even by the 1830s this was still very much confined to wealthier households. Working-class women have always worked, and at this point in history were unlikely to have a significant education themselves. If they were earning outside the home, they simply would not have had the time to answer a child's questions in the way that happens in *The Coral Necklace*. Even if they were working from home, they would not have had the education needed to be able to answer the questions accurately. The ideal mother is therefore not only physically present, but also highly educated: and neither of these could be represented in a story about a working-class household. Once again, the paradox of the ideal family reveals itself here in how a family supposedly attainable to all people is in reality only recognisable to the middle classes.

This style of educational conversation, guided entirely by the parent, is most famously associated with some of the earliest examples of print for children, most notably Mary Martha Sherwood's *The Fairchild Family* (1818, 1842, and 1847). However, as Figure 3.3 shows, domestic fiction with very present mother characters did not dominate cheap children's fiction. Nevertheless, texts in which the mother is strongly present and thus available to provide this

Figure 3.3: Chart showing All Domestic Fiction Texts in the Corpus and Domestic Fiction Texts with Mother Character Present Over Time



kind of controlling conversation can be found well into the middle of the century. A later example of a cheap text that utilises the same focus of a parent/child educational conversation throughout, with the parent guiding, correcting, and watching the child is *Careless James; or, The Box of Toys*, written by Julia Corner and published by Dean and Son in c. 1857 with 18 pages and a paper cover. There is no price given for it, but the other series advertised on the back of the text are individually priced at either a halfpenny or a farthing, so it seems likely that this text cost a similar sum. In this story, James routinely loses, damages, and otherwise destroys his things. He asks his mother to buy him a very nice building block house, and she says she will only if he promises to look after it, and if he does not, she will never buy him another toy again. James looks after it at first, but starts to forget to count the pieces back into the box, and eventually loses more than half of them. A man comes to the door with a toy boat, and when James thinks that it is for him, his mother tells him that it is for a neighbour who looks after his things, and reminds him of their deal. She concludes by telling him that 'you did not keep your word. I told you then it was the last time I should try you, and though you break your word, I do not mean to break mine' (18). Despite being published decades apart, the

similarities with *The Unhappy Boy* are immediately apparent. In both instances, the boy character does not do what he knows that he ought to do, and his mother allows him to fail in order to teach him a lesson. The key difference here is that James's mother provides the consequences herself, rather than general circumstances doing so. Although the lesson itself relies on a middle-class setting – a working-class mother would never be able to afford so many toys for a child in the first place – the focus is not so much on the method of the teaching as it is on failure of the child. The consequences themselves are not framed as punishment, however, but rather as modelling good behaviour in an attempt to help the child grow into a wise, rational, reliable adult. In both texts, the blame is laid at the feet of the erring child, and the mother is the voice of reason who he must listen to in order to discover his errors and correct them.

The continued popularity of this ever-present, all-wise mother figure in cheap fiction long after it fades out in more expensive works is partly an inevitable consequence of the shorter format of these texts, which allows less space and scope for subtlety. Such texts require a more direct approach to presenting ideologies of family and a clearer, more immediately apparent single moral lesson at their centre. However, given the consistency in how these lessons are imparted, this continuation also reveals the tension in representations of the domestic space in texts widely available to a less affluent readership. This ever-present mother who guides her children without hesitation through practical, educational, and moral lessons (rising early in *The Unhappy Boy*, where coral comes from in *The Coral Necklace*, and looking after you things in *The Careless Boy*) cannot exist in a working-class space. So rather than representing the humdrum reality of ordinary life for most of their readers, these texts instead showed an idealised, possibly aspirational, view of how life could be. It is not supposed to be an accurate image of real middle-class families, but instead a fictional version of family life in which straightforward lessons for the future can be easily taught. Not only that, but the stakes are greatly lowered. Had Charles been a working-class child late to work rather than school, he

would have lost his job and his siblings would have gone hungry. Likewise, if James had been a servant or apprentice careless with his master's things, the consequences would have been far greater and potentially irreversible. The setting allows these children to learn the lesson without any real harm being done. The middle-class domestic scene is thus not something immediately familiar to the poorer reader, but rather a kind of fantasy in which the child's mother is always present and knows the answer to every question, without any serious problems arising at any time.

This is not to say, however, that all cheap domestic fiction employs a middle-class setting. In stories that utilise a working-class setting, mothers are rarely physically present for the majority of the story. One example of such a text is *John in Search of a Place*, an RTS publication from c. 1870 with 12 pages, no price given, and one woodcut illustration, in which John is struggling to find work and, on the advice of his mother, decides to ask for help at Sunday School. A gentleman there had seen him out the previous day, returning money to a shop owner and turning down work elsewhere, and questions him:

> "Why did you not take that place which the gentleman had for you in the large shop?"
> "Because, sir, they kept open shop on Sunday, and mother would not wish for me to work on the Lord's day." (7)

Despite his mother not being physically present in the story, John is still guided by her wishes and teachings, and the man is so impressed at John's honesty and goodness that he hires him himself. John' mother is not there in the text, but her presence in his say-to-day life, speaking to him about the Christian faith and teaching him morals and acceptable social behaviour, is evident.

The idea of the beneficial effects of a good woman's influence – especially that of a mother – was so strong in the nineteenth century as to verge on the unquestionable. In Susan Gubar and Sandra M. Gilbert's seminal text *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979), the authors argue that much of the literary tension in canonical adult works by women writers in the nineteenth century originated from authors' struggles to escape from typical feminine ideologies, and the difficulty in turning away from established male writers' tendencies to writer women as either 'angel' or 'monster'. They offer evidence from a range of contemporary texts and authors such as Mrs. Sarah Ellis, who published a great many works on the condition of the wives, mothers, daughter and women of England:

> "What should I do to gratify myself or to be admired?" is not the question a lady asks on rising, declared Mrs. Sarah Ellis, Victorian England's foremost preceptress of female morals and manners, in 1844. No, because she is "the least engaged of any member of the household", a woman of right feeling should devote herself to the good of others. And she should do this silently, without calling attention to her exertions. (24)

Mrs. Sarah Ellis does not offer any advice here on how women who are not 'the least engaged' member of the household should be expected to act. However, where the canonical adult texts discussed by Gilbert and Gubar often make a visible and recognisable effort (although not necessarily successful) to 'kill' the masculine dichotomous angel-monster female, because these children's texts are primarily concerned with the family as a unit and in the child characters, they do not have the same aim. Rather, they exist to reveal and aid the development of the child character. With mothers assigned supporting or educative roles, they are forced into conformity with feminine ideologies that depict them as 'influencers' and 'helpers' with

‘no story of her own’ (Gilbert and Gubar 22). In the case of *John in Search of a Place*, for example, the mother exists as a background motivation or influence on John’s decisions, and the reason for his goodness. However, while this adheres to the dominant ideal of motherhood, the very process of this ideal was one in which the mother was never noticed for herself. Her entire purpose serves to reveal assets of the child character.

Ironically, the result of representing an ideal in which the mother goes unnoticed, the text cannot draw attention to her retirement without undoing that very ideal. Gilbert and Gubar’s finding that the ideal mother character is one who does not draw attention to herself is reproduced in this text. Indeed, the very existence of the ideal itself aids the text in its aim: if for readers the efficacy of a mother’s love and influence is taken for granted, the text does not even need to acknowledge it, nor the reader to consider it. It must be so taken for granted that it does not need to be spoken: except that in order to exist, this ideal should not be spoken of where possible, as drawing attention to it damages the effect. The result is that even though the mother character exists as an ideal example of feminine motherly influence on her son, in order for this ideal to carry through, she must not be noticed by the reader beyond her effect on John. The moment that she is recognised as being an ideal to aspire to, she is then noticed and foregrounded, and thus risks losing the very thing that made her an ideal in the first place. Although exceptions do exist in which the mother is both strong and idealised – the American text *Little Women* (Louisa May Alcott, 1868) is one such example, although its context outside of Britain may account for some of these differences – the tension of idealising mother characters for their retirement and desire to put others first and thus forcing the sense of their effectiveness into the background is evident in many cheap texts.

The ideal mother’s influence is not confined to her lifetime; indeed, it may take on an even greater significance after her death. In *Mother’s Last Words*, written by Mary Sewell,

published by Jarrold and Sons in c. 1865 and sold for one shilling, two boys are left destitute and orphaned after their mother's death, but follow her teachings to be good boys and not steal or lie, they are eventually taken pity on by wealthier people (though not until after the younger brother has died). The benefits of the ideal mothering they have had are evident throughout the text. On her deathbed, the boys' mother instructs them never to

> join with wicked lads
> To steal, and drink, and lie;
> For though you are but orphans here,
> You have a father in the sky. (6)

Later on in the text, when the boys are desperately struggling against the cold and hunger, the two brothers discuss what they could do:

> "'Tis hard to work and not to eat;
> But John, you would not do what's bad!"
> "No; I don't mean to thieve; not I;
> But when thieves feast, it makes one mad." (17)

Although they do not mention their mother by name, her influence and teachings are clear: even when starving they will not go against what she has taught them; they continue to do the right thing despite those around them doing wrong. They are rewarded for their steadfastness and obedience by being taken in by a wealthy family, and will eventually be rewarded further by joining their mother in heaven. Gilbert and Gubar argue that 'the Victorian domestication of death represents not just an acquiescence in death by the selfless, but also a secret striving for power by the powerless' (25). It is certainly the case that in this text, the mother's story is told only in a line or two that hint at the fact that her husband has abandoned her. But just as Gilbert and Gubar argue is the case for canonical adult fiction, her death in this text is not merely a tragic ending, but rather a triumph for her feminine power over her children, who

follow her teaching perfectly, even to the point where Christopher dies of the harsh conditions that they are forced to endure. Maternal influence in this story is not its focus, however; rather, it exists in order to excite pity and praise for the child characters trying to follow her last instructions to be good and never lie or steal. Thus, this text confirms that in the case of the good working-class mother characters of cheap domestic children's literature, all a mother's energies in life and beyond the grave are directed to guiding her children. In keeping with the feminine ideal, individual mothers are not celebrated in the text: any praise is instead given to children, who have heeded their mothers' advice.

While the vast majority of depictions of motherhood are positive, negative portrayals of mother characters do exist – although they are, once again, tied up in social class divisions, with only one text showcasing a negative portrayal of a middle-class mother. A text discussed in the previous chapter, *The Little Flower-Gatherer* (RTS, c. 1847-1859), is also relevant here. This is the story of a new curate in the village who meets and speaks about God and heaven with a little girl who is gathering flowers on her own and shortly after they part she drowns. The narrator notes that

> [w]hen Jane was at home, she was mostly neglected; for they said she was not so good-looking as her brothers and sisters, nor did they care about her joining in any of their pleasures. (5)

After Jane's death, all that the narrator says of it is that

> her body was found, floating in the river. It is thought she must have fallen into the water, while trying to reach some pretty flower which grew near the brink, and that there was no one near to save her. (8)

The censure of her parents for their lack of care is only ever implied. It seems strange that so great a failure is not remarked upon, even by the curate. Given the above discussion over the importance of presence and surveillance, as well as central role of the domestic ideal to middle-class identity, the blasé approach to Jane's neglect seems even stranger, and suggests a reluctance to represent middle-class parents as subject to reprimand, even when they are actively (or passively) doing something wrong. Ultimately, the mother cannot be criticised because that then brings the middle-class domestic sphere itself into question, and so neither the narrator nor the curate ever make any direct comment on the family's neglect, and they never receive any comeuppance for it either.

By contrast, while still rare, there are examples of negative portrayals of working-class mothers in cheap domestic children's text, and these also acknowledge instances of active abuse as well as passive neglect. For instance, in *Lame Jemmy*, published by Houlston and Co. in 1841 with 30 pages and sold for two pence, a poor 'cripple' boy proves himself to be good and worthy of help, so the local curate and his son find him work and pay for his schooling. On visiting his home, the curate meets Jemmy's mother, who is derisive of her son and exasperated with his slowness, his disability, and the trouble he has finding or keeping work. One of the few moments in which she actually addresses him is a sharp reprimand: '"What are you whimpering for, you dumb idiot? -- I'm ashamed of you!"' (28). Her harshness and lack of compassion are the antithesis to the idealised image of a gentle, kind mother figure, and grate harshly against the more cultured words of the curate and his son. As a result, although none of the characters reprimands her, the sentence is now shocking to read in contrast to the other domestic stories written around the same time. Indeed, the rhetoric at the time often implored children to treat the disabled with care and sympathy. For example, the 1 April 1857 edition of *The Band of Hope and Children's Friend* exhort its readers to show compassion, exclaiming:

> Boys and girls! let me advise you always to treat the blind, the deformed, the lame, the sick, with *great kindness*. Ever be ready to perform the *kind action* or speak the *kind word*. (61, italics original)

These two texts were published over a decade apart, and yet the contrast in the attitudes of the able-bodied characters towards this child in comparison to the way that children were expected to treat the 'lame' is clear. Certainly the curate does his duty by Jemmy, but only after he has ascertained that he is worthy of helping, and he does nothing to try to defend Jemmy from his mother's casual cruelty regarding his disability. Either the curate must be in the wrong, which the text does not suggest, or Jemmy's mother cannot be brought to task for her treatment of her son.

But if the mother character has to be depicted as infallible to the point where other characters fail to remonstrate with her wrong behaviour, then why is she shown in such a negative light here, rather than have her show pity or plead for her son? The answer is almost certainly that the urban setting of this story has a strong bearing on the portrayal of the mother character. Lydia Murdoch argues that there was a great concern for the ways in which the living conditions of the urban poor were believed to affect their moral superiority, particularly due to the ways in which these conditions were perceived to lead to a lack of a proper domestic space:

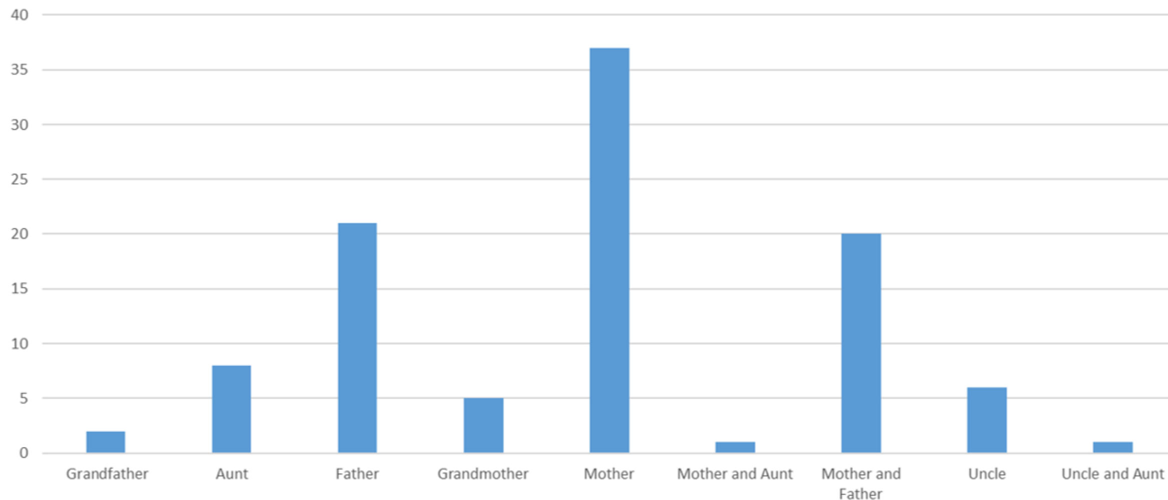
> Numerous scholars have examined how popular representations of the urban poor contributed to the idea that their very environment precluded all domestic life. Without proper, bourgeois domestic spaces, the poor lacked the physical boundaries linked to middle-class notions of individuality and citizenship. (46)

Although Murdoch claims cheap texts represented the urban poor as deprived of domestic spaces, in the case of cheap domestic children's texts, there is a clear tension between the spaces

lived in by the urban poor and traditional assumptions of motherhood. While there is a recognition of the potentially detrimental effects of poverty on mothering, the value accorded to the ideal of motherhood is such that it renders any direct critique of a mother in a work aimed at the cheap market impossible. In this instance, despite the need to 'save' Jemmy, he is never removed from his home. The unspoken acknowledgement is that the way in which they are being forced to live has a direct impact on what kinds of domestic homelife Jemmy can have. But even when a home is obviously imperfect, the ideology surrounding the domestic is so powerful that the home cannot be violated, removed, or replaced. The only form of mitigation for the bad behaviour of Jemmy's mother, and the lack of decent homelife, is to offer him work and a place outside of the home. Whatever form it takes, the domestic space and the mother who resides over it are never questioned within the cheap domestic children's literature in my corpus.

Ultimately, the texts above use many of the same assumptions and tropes that canonical children's texts do in terms of the representation of mother characters and the domestic realm itself. However, the use of these ideologies within these cheap texts reveals a tension in the fact that these are unattainable, unsustainable, cannot be accurately applied outside of a middle-class setting, and are in actuality not an accurate depiction of the reality of middle-class family life anyway. Representations of mothers in cheap domestic fiction are thus almost always either restricted to middle-class families, as a non-physical presence strengthened after a pitiful death, or are showcased as a negative exemplar that stands as a warning against the loss of the domestic space within the lower classes. In the end, for all their centrality to the home, the mother characters discussed here maintain a somewhat fractured connection to the idea of an unbreakable moral code that does, or at least (in the view of those producing this literature) should, govern all households and every home life.

Other Adults in Parental/Mentor Roles



While discussions of the domestic have so far focussed on representation of idealised middle-class familial relations in cheap nineteenth-century children's literature, it must be acknowledged that these familial relations stretch far beyond the nuclear family unit. Social historians, historians of the book, and of family have long since established the complex and often shifting nature of working-class families throughout the nineteenth century, and even those textual representations of middle-class families most concerned with promoting the integrity of the nuclear family recognise the roles and positions of aunts, uncles, grandparents, and cousins.[5] As such, any examination of the representation of families within the domestic sphere in cheap children's literature must also look beyond the parent-child binary to the wider family unit – and even, in certain instances, beyond that to explore adoptive neighbours and wealthy benefactors who take on, raise, educate, and employ orphaned child characters.

[5] Key critical works in these areas include Bruce Bellingham's 'Institution and Family: An Alternative View of Nineteenth-Century Child Saving'; Hugh Cunningham's *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*; *The Nineteenth-Century Novel*, Volume 3, ed. John Kucich and Jenny Bourne Taylor; and Jonathan Rose's *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*.

The presence of significant adults who are not child characters' parents can be found across almost all genres of cheap children's literature, but here I focus on that presence as one that takes on a pseudo-parental role or, in the case of an orphan child, assists in supporting the child physically and financially, and usually offers moral or religious education. The term 'pseudo-parental role' does not mean that the adult in question is necessarily attempting to replace a parent, particularly if that parent is still alive. Rather, such figures take on some of the traits or responsibilities most immediately associated with parent characters, such as moral guidance, religious teachings, general education, and physical care. Figure 3.4 shows the instances of such significant adult relatives in cheap domestic children's fiction. Once again, where a single adult character is highlighted, others might be in the background or mentioned, but the characters included as 'present' are the only ones directly involved in the plot with speaking roles. Texts with more than one adult figure present have also been highlighted, such as 'Mother and Aunt Present' and 'Aunt and Uncle Present'. Data that marks only one parent present includes texts where only that adult is involved in the events of the story. The chart clearly indicates not only that there are a wide range of different adult roles involved with the raising and education of child characters, but also that certain adult relatives are more commonly represented. Of these, after the parents themselves, aunts are most common. This is possibly because of the real middle-class expectation that maiden aunts would aid married siblings in raising their children, as discussed below. This is likely to be why, in these cheap fictions, aunts are shown stepping in either to aid parents or to take over in the event that a child character is orphaned.

Almost without exception, the aunts who care for orphaned children in domestic fiction are childless and usually unmarried, meaning they can devote significant amounts of time to their siblings' children. Clara Tuite has examined the changing role of the aunt in depth in her text *Romantic Austen: Sexual Politics and the Literary Canon* (2002). In discussing the

evolution of spinster characters, particularly aunts, from witches to advisors, she uses the works of Jane Austen and her contemporaries to argue that aunt characters found a new kind of respectability at the beginning of the nineteenth century; that this respectability found its expression in the domestic genre, and that the spinster aunt herself was domesticated and made respectable. She demonstrates that this resulted in a shift away from what she terms the 'Witch Aunt' of previous decades, and allows the aunt character to become both a force for good and a rounded, sympathetic character in her own right. While the popular genre rarely includes full-length novels of the type and stature which Tuite discusses, many of the characteristics of 'respectability' that she identifies in these texts can also be seen within cheap children's domestic fiction. However, differences between canonical adult fiction and cheap children's fiction begin to become obvious around the figure of the aunt. When discussing the changes in representations of the aunt character at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tuite argues that

> As well as being pedagogue and carer at home, the unmarried aunt plays a pivotal role in the preservation of the family's name and property through her status as mediator and marriage-broker. (51)

In more expensive fiction that features the role of maiden aunts to middle-class readers, this is entirely understandable. Unable to find respectable work, these aunt characters are rendered entirely dependent on the families on whose peripheries they are located, and it is in their own best interest to aid the female characters in their search for suitable husbands. But the same cannot be said for those cheaper texts read by the working classes. Amongst these less affluent readers, aunts might well work the same jobs as any other working-class women, including mothers, most likely for the same six day weeks. The difficult space which the aunt occupies

in the middle classes simply does not exist here. This creates another area of tension in cheap fiction: none of the stories with a heavy focus on aunt characters depict the working poor.

Interestingly, aunt characters typically take on a role almost indistinguishable from that of the mother. When an aunt character notably restricts the class setting in use, this can sometimes beg the question of why it is necessary for an aunt character, rather than a mother, to take responsibility for educating and offering moral guidance to the child characters. One text in which the rationale behind a foregrounding the role of the aunt over that of the mother is made apparent is *A Visit to Aunt Agnes*. *Aunt Agnes* is unusual within the corpus, in that it is another longer text (86 pages) with hard covers. Ordinarily, a text of this length and style would not fall into the category of cheap literature. However, although there are no markings on the text to designate price, it was published by the RTS, and made in the same style as the Little Dot Series examined in the previous chapter and below, with a single illustration. Given this, both it and *A Book About Birds*, also examined below, have been included in this discussion as likely to have been as affordable as the Little Dot books. In the text, a brother and sister go to stay with their aunt in the countryside over the summer. The country setting and style of home teaching are very similar to that favoured in Mrs. Sherwood's text, although with far less emphasis placed on discipline and a heavy focus on forgiveness and rewarding good behaviour instead. Indeed, not merely the moral and religious lessons themselves but also the mechanics of the ways in which the children learned their lessons are explored, encouraging readers to engage with the learning itself and not merely the lessons:

> Should you like to know how they learned their verse? I will tell you: first, Auntie said it over, and they repeated it after her two or three times, and then they tried to say it by themselves all together; after that, each one said it separately, first Willy, then Bertha, and then Nelly, and by that time they all know it quite well. (13)

All of this evokes a peaceful idyllic scene, in which the aunt is ostensibly a replacement for the kind of mother character found, for instance, in mainstream works such as *The History of the Fairchild Family.* As expected of a text firmly ensconced in the domestic genre, this work contains few disturbances to the children's happiness and little beyond day-to-day events; small spats and difficulties contained within the cottage rooms and gardens, takes up the vast majority of the text.

The ending, however, sees a sudden shift in focus and direction. Aunt Agnes receives a letter from the children's mother saying that their father is very ill, and asking their aunt to look after the children for an extra month. Where the children had previously been saying that they wanted to stay forever, now they are suddenly desperate to return home and to know that their parents are both safe. The children, under their aunt's careful instructions, pray for their father, and although he initially grows worse, he does eventually recover and the children return home. But for the first time in the text, the biblical teachings feel as though they stand on uncertain ground. Where previously Aunt Agnes had always had a clear and very simple response to their theological questions, when the children receive news that their father is worsening, both the children and their aunt are forced to confront more complex theological points, and the conversation reads thus:

> "I thought, Auntie," said Bertha, "you told us if we prayed to God to make dear papa better, he would be sure to hear us?"
>
> "God always hears his children when they pray to him, my darling, but sometimes he sees it is not best to give them what they ask for." (77).

Despite the complex nature of this theological discussion, the conversation is dropped very shortly afterwards, with Aunt Agnes recommending that the children continue to pray, and they

later receive news that their father is recovering. Aunt Agnes's recommendation works, because God does answer their prayer. But here, the failures of the ideal domestic setting are highlighted: the wise, all-knowing feminine guide does not, in fact, have answers to the truly difficult questions. Such an exposure would not be permissible with a mother character because, as has been demonstrated in earlier parts of the chapter, mothers are shown as unquestionable sources of knowledge and moral wisdom. Aunt Agnes has more room for uncertainty: she is allowed not to have all of the answers. Not only that, but she provides the same safe domestic space for the children to question and struggle that the middle-class mothers in *The Unhappy Boy* and *Careless James* do, even while the children are simultaneously kept away from the nuclear family that they long to return to. The decision to utilise the aunt figure is thus twofold: it both allows for increased uncertainty, and yet also provides a safe place for that uncertainty until the children's real home is able to receive them back again. In the end, the aunt provides a home away from home that in itself affirms the very need for that original home to remain intact.

A seemingly far more self-aware depiction of an aunt taking on a typical mothering role is found in *The Victoria Tales and Stories: Cloudland* (1870). *The Victoria Tales and Stories* are a set of cheaply bound 16-page long texts written after 1860, published by Frederick Warne and Co., and sold for twopence. They range widely in setting, focus, and subject matter: some are very religious while others focus exclusively on moral precepts. *Cloudland* is a moral text wherein an aunt watching children playing make believe in the garden is asked to tell them a story. She tells the tale of Elric, who flies to Cloudland on a bird and tries to touch the castle there, only to fall through the cloud. He gives up daydreaming, and the Aunt concludes the story by saying:

> he never ceased to love the sight of the beautiful skies and fairy-looking clouds, which he could well admire from a distance. When he grew to be a man, he wrote a book about the clouds; there was a great deal in it which was nearly as wonderful as what I have told you; and it had this advantage, that it was all real and true. (15-16)

This ending confuses the lesson of the story somewhat. The stated intention of the tale is to teach the child characters not to daydream, and it acts as a response to their earlier games of make believe. However, Elric's adventures amongst the clouds and resulting love of them are what leads to his success as a researcher and scientific author as an adult. In other words, Elric's daydreams ultimately result in his becoming an ideal middle-class citizen: innovative, scientific, and focussed on discovery and invention. The contradiction of aims and outcomes of moral lessons in cheap texts is explored in more detail below, but this contradiction is particularly interesting in this text specifically because the narrator positions herself as being very self-aware, or at least very aware of the wants and tendencies of her listeners.

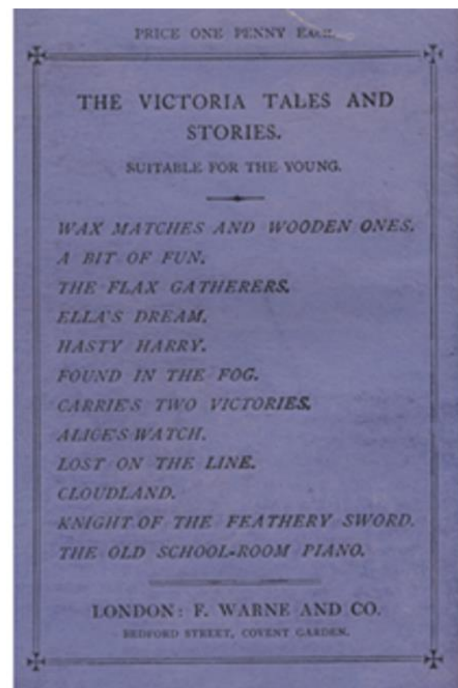
The narrator notes rather drily that aunts are often called on to tell stories, and that children are very exacting over their stories, refusing to allow any change up or variance: 'woe be to Aunty if, for her own amusement, or the amusement of her hearers, she varies the story in repetition'; 'Aunt Bessie turned traitor? Yes! She has made the Enchanted Princess wear a silver crown instead of a golden one, and has allowed her to drive out in a nut shell instead of a pumpkin' (3, 4). This creates a sense of the narrator here speaking not to child readers, but to adults with enough shared experience of telling stories to children to be able to recognise what the narrator is describing and agree with it. Barbara Wall has examined this kind of doubling of address extensively in her text *The Narrator's Voice: The Dilemma of Children's Fiction* (1991). She argues that it is primarily a result of needing to speak first to the adult purchaser

of the text before the author can address the child reader. She also suggests that numerous older texts struggled to get the balance of address right, resulting in unappealing narrators:

> writers in the past, when they began to address children in fiction, did not easily find a tone of voice which was free from the self-consciousness and the necessity to maintain their adult standing. (13)

But while there is no doubt that this was often true, in this text, the narrator is noticeable not for speaking to the child reader, as is the case for Type A and Type B didactic children's fiction, but rather to the adult. Indeed, the narrator's 'adult standing' is not presented as an uncomfortable thing, but rather a shared joke with other adult readers. The narrator positions herself as an aunt who, it is implied, like all aunts, is asked to tell stories and then uses those stories to teach lessons to the children. The explicit discussion revolved around a shared companionship not with the child reader, but with the adult.

The implicit suggestion of these openly stated asides is therefore that the narrator is otherwise speaking directly to the child reader, and that where in these moments she is to be read by the adult, elsewhere she should be as equally straightforwardly understood by the child. But the lesson of this text is uncertain, and its contradictory nature is exacerbated by the narrator's earlier commentary on the pedantic nature of child listeners: the children remember every tiny detail of the


PRICE ONE PENNY EACH.

THE VICTORIA TALES AND STORIES.

SUITABLE FOR THE YOUNG.

WAX MATCHES AND WOODEN ONES.
A BIT OF FUN.
THE FLAX GATHERERS.
ELLA'S DREAM.
HASTY HARRY.
FOUND IN THE FOG.
CARRIE'S TWO VICTORIES.
ALICE'S WATCH.
LOST ON THE LINE.
CLOUDLAND.
KNIGHT OF THE FEATHERY SWORD.
THE OLD SCHOOL-ROOM PIANO.

LONDON: F. WARNE AND CO.
BEDFORD STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

Figure 3.5: Image of *The Victoria Tales and Stories: Cloudland* (Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1870, price 1d). Shows back cover with other titles in series.

stories told to them, and often fixate on things that the aunt telling the tale sees as insignificant, thus indicating the high probability of her confusing moral teachings being lost amongst the children's interest in the descriptions of Cloudland as well as the contradictory nature of the lesson itself making the moral even harder to distinguish. In the end, despite the explicit asides, both the intended audience and the moral lessons are unclear, and as the narrator links her status as an aunt to her status as a storyteller, by destabilising the storytelling, the construction of the aunt character herself is also destabilised. Just as with *A Visit to Aunt Agnes*, a text that appears to offer a confident image of a middle-class Aunt character to act as an ideal discloses that she is in fact uncertain, contradictory, and unsure of her own status or teaching abilities.

Although many of these fractures in middle-class ideology around families are explored by introducing adults who are related to the child characters, there are also several examples of unrelated adults who take on the work of educating, guiding, and providing for child characters, particularly those who are orphaned before or at the beginning of a text. While the majority of these adults are relatively wealthy benefactors, in a small number of texts neighbours of the same or a lower-class status take in orphaned or abandoned children. One example even achieves this by exposing the lack of moral integrity in the middle-class parental characters. *William and George* (Houlston and Son, c. 1825, 24 pages, sold for one penny) tells the story of wealthy William, who is discontented and uncaring, and George, who loves life, learning, and his family. Following the pattern made famous by Thomas Day in *Sandford and Merton* (1783-9) it shows a wealthy aristocratic child who is taught middle-class values and the importance of work by a poorer neighbour. In this tale, William's father loses all of his wealth and leaves for India, and then his mother dies. George's family take him in and raise him, and he learns to appreciate everything that he has, to work hard, and to love George's family; when they receive word that William's father has drowned at sea, George's father resolves to raise William as his own son. In the end, William's father returns six years later

with his wealth restored, and barely recognises his much improved son. The importance of a simple life of hard work is continually emphasised, not least during the reunion of father and son, where William exclaims:

> '"Oh, my father, my father, has God indeed preserved you? ---receive your happy, happy child – though exercise and wholesome labour may have altered his person, his heart is still the same"' (21).

His father then replies: '"All my sufferings are repaid, it is possible that exercise and plain diet, have made so great a change?"' (21). The idea that labour, outdoor work, and plain living are good for the soul is hardly radical, and the trope of a rich man losing his money and thus finding happiness is almost as old as storytelling itself. But this text is interesting not so much because it acts as a veritable banquet of middle-class ideologies and class fantasies (George is happy because he loves school; William learns to love hard work; India is a place of wealth and adventure; William's lost father returns having found wealth and thus, it is implied, redemption in the Empire) but because it acts directly against the domestic ideal of the middle-class benefactor. Here, instead of the working-class characters being rendered dependant on the guidance and benevolence of their wealthier neighbours, the wealthy have to lose their wealth in order to find happiness through a working-class lifestyle. The imposition of this idea onto the kind of domestic scene so often connected with idealised middle-class benevolence as opposed to the adventure genre that it more typically inhabits sets the text apart from other cheap domestic children's fiction of the nineteenth century. Chance and benevolence usually feature strongly in rags-to-riches stories, which contrast greatly with this riches-to-rags tale, where the benevolent characters are the poor ones, and the hard work of the characters lead to their success. In this particular instance, of course, William has to unlearn the wrong lessons of the old aristocracy and be taught middle-class ideologies within a poorer domestic sphere

by a working-class family whose members confine themselves to middle-class doctrines around work, the family, and respectability.

The character of the benefactor (or benefactress) is one of the most consistent images associated with works of cheap children's literature exploring class relations, whether urging middle-class readers to show benevolence themselves, or assuring working-class readers that such benevolence exists for them and instructing them to remain dependant on and grateful for it. Unsurprisingly, a significant percentage of these character depictions occur within the domestic genre. Most importantly for this discussion, while all of the texts discussed above reveal the flaws in middle-class ideologies surrounding familial relations, benefactors in particular expose the failures of the nuclear family's reliance on class allegiance. For example, in *William and George*, William has to be taken out of his nuclear family and its wrong teachings in order to be correctly instructed. The family that he ideally should have been relying on was not able to adequately fulfil their role. This text is an unusual example, however, as benefactors rarely take on deliberately parental roles. More often, they provide work and monetary assistance, or moral and religious instruction that improves the working-class child character's quality of life. Indeed, benefactors act as fairy godmother characters, swooping in to save child characters from the evil fate of destitution in favour of a better life, albeit one confined to their working-class position rather than elevated to the status of princess, king, or wealthy citizen.

One example of this is found in Mary Martha Sherwood's *The Little Sunday-School Child's Reward* (eleventh edn., F. Houlston and Son, 15 pages, no given price, 1824), a text which demonstrates that even in earlier examples of the benefactress character in cheap domestic children's literature, the difficulties of imposing middle-class ideologies and moralities onto working-class characters is exposed. In this story Sally, an orphaned girl being

raised by an unkind and careless neighbour, asks a wealthy lady (who is never named) if she would be willing to take her to Church. The lady instructs her to clean herself and says that if she does, she will take her to Sunday School. Not having any assistance from her foster mother, cleaning herself initially presents a challenge for Sally, which the text solves thus:

> Then little Sally sat down upon the step on the outside of the door, and began to think. "What shall I do when the lady comes again next Sunday? Mammy won't clean me; but I can wash my own face and hands, and comb my hair, for mammy will let me use her comb. So I will sit upon the gate, till the lady comes; and then I will ask her to let me go with her to school; and I will give the lady a little posy out of the hedge, because she is a good lady." (9)

On seeing her the following Sunday, the unnamed lady initially objects to Sally's poor state of dress, but on hearing her personal circumstances states, contradicting the laser focus on cleanliness upheld by the text up to this point, that God sees the heart and not the ragged clothes, and as He accepts everyone, even the poorest, so too should she. Sally does well at school, and the lady makes her a present of good (if plain) Sunday clothes as a reward, and when she grows older, employs her in her own house. It is not immediately clear whether the primary intended purpose was to give middle-class children instruction on how to respond to the needs of the poor while also providing a fantasised idealisation of their attitudes towards the wealthier classes, or whether it was intended as an instruction manual for the working-class child reader on how to behave around their superiors, or double as both simultaneously. Rather, the text enacts both roles simultaneously, without appearing to feel any need to draw distinctions between the two readerships. Given the widespread fame of Mrs. Sherwood's writings, this makes sense in terms of how accessible her works were to a wide range of readers; however, the fact that *The Little Sunday-School Child's Reward* text fails to address the reality of what

would have happened if the unnamed lady had been less kind or quicker to judge serves to reveal the hypocrisy of the very middle-class ideologies that the text appears to uphold. The most immediately obvious of these, as mentioned above, is the focus on cleanliness. A large proportion of the text is taken up with Sally's efforts to make herself ready for Church, only for these efforts to be immediately dismissed by the lady because she does not have a Sunday dress, suggesting that all efforts at cleanliness are essentially unrecognised without better clothes. Sally's situation having been explained, the lady repents of her preoccupation with good outward appearance, suggesting the middle-class obsession with Sunday apparel is unimportant, though this message is rather confused when she later gives Sally new Sunday clothes.

Perhaps more disturbingly, her gifts of clothing, of taking Sally to Sunday School, and then later employing her, serve to establish her benevolence and Sally's unpayable debt to her. This in turn then binds Sally to her in gratitude in a way which renders the girl incapable of independence in any way that would not appear horrifically ungrateful, and yet at the same time as the lady commits these small acts which cost her almost nothing, she does nothing to attempt to intervene in Sally's difficult home life. Sally refers to her foster mother as 'mammy' an unusual instance of an orphaned child calling her carer by a mother's title. Doing so seems to render her family life unquestionable; or at least, the lady never questions it, even after hearing of Sally's neglect and her mammy's lack of care around helping her. The idealisation of mother figures within middle-class identity, and of the nuclear home itself, is so powerful that even in this makeshift family in a text focussed primarily on middle-class benevolence, the thought of interfering in that space never seems to even occur to the lady. Instead, she is content with gestures that leave Sally indebted to her without doing anything that is actually difficult or troublesome, and without dealing with any of the deeper problems of Sally's

situation. John Kucich notes this issue of obligation in his essay 'Modernization and the Organic Society' (2012), in which he argues that

> Because they make the progress of aspiring figures dependent on the assistance of a disinterested other, benefactor/beneficiary relationships represent upward mobility as a gift that socially privileged figures bestow on deserving inferiors, a gift that these advancing figures, in turn, come to feel as a moral obligation to help those beneath them to rise (354)

But where Kucich argues that nineteenth-century novels show a sort of chain of obligation, where those who have been helped then go on to help others, in these short cheap texts for children, including in this text by Mrs. Sherwood, the sense of obligation remains entirely attached to the benefactor, and not to society at large. Rather, the child character spends the rest of her life trying and failing to pay back her debt of gratitude, unable to ever escape from the kindness that the lady showed to her without appearing unbelievably ungrateful. As such, despite its apparent idealisation of the relationship between classes, in reality this text reveals the failures of middle-class ideologies, because the act of benevolence only entraps the working class child characters in cycles of gratitude towards and dependence on their wealthier benefactors. In the end, the class fantasy that the text appears to present is in fact a dubious examination of the relationship between the rich and the poor.

Not only do these texts reveal the failures of benevolent paternalism, but they also once again expose the limitations and contradictions of middle-class family ideologies. The vast majority of these benefactors do not offer a stable family unit into which the working-class orphan is adopted, but rather the benefactor focusses on finding the child characters suitable employment in the way that the clergyman does in *Lame Jemmy*. The ideal middle-class nuclear family is at direct odds with the ideal 'useful' working-class citizen, and most cheap

texts seem to respond to this difficulty by simply refusing working-class children access to an adoptive family at all: rather, child characters take on adult working responsibilities while at the same time being once again rendered beholden to their benefactor/employer through their kindness in taking a child employee on, while the benefactor assumes no parent-like responsibilities either for the child's long term welfare or for the moral development beyond those responsibilities expected of all good middle-class employers.

Perhaps the best example of the contrast between the less common outcome of adoption by a middle-class family and the more usual instances of employment is in *The Orphans; or, The Triumph of Integrity* (Dean and Munday, 54 pages, c. 1825, sold for one shilling), in which two good children are left orphaned at the beginning of the text. A kind curate persuades an old sea captain to take the brother, and the captain promptly marries the curate's daughter. After a brief period of employment, when Richard proves his worthiness by protecting the house from thieves while his master is away, he is formally adopted by the childless couple. In due course they give him a pair of colours (that is, they buy him into the armed forces) for his sixteenth birthday – a stereotypically middle-class boy's childhood desire, which as the son of a very poor villager he would never have previously been able to aspire to. Here, Richard stands as an atypical example: he still has to prove himself to be a member of the deserving poor, but is then actually accepted into the family and treated in the same way as a born son of the house – an extremely unusual outcome. By contrast, his sister Betsey's story is a far more typical example. The curate persuades a benevolent wealthy friend, Miss Tythe, to employ her as a maid. Due to her refusal to sneak on a fellow maid, Sophy, for stealing (this obdurate solidarity being an oddly prevalent and much praised trait, considering how often the topic of lying or concealing the truth is condemned in cheap children's fiction), she is framed for Sophy's crimes and almost banished, only to be saved at the last minute by the testimony of a local pawn broker. Through the entire ordeal, Betsey is treated as a servant and employee, not a child: and

both the curate and Miss Tythe are ready to cast her out in disgrace without aid or support when they believe her unworthy of trust, rather than trying to teach, guide, or educate her as a parental figure would. Betsey is a servant, not a daughter of the house, and despite the apparent benevolence of both the curate in taking an interest in finding her a job and Miss Tythe in giving her one extends no further in reality than it does for anyone else in Miss Tythe's employment. In the end, these two siblings serve to reinforce the reality of the fragile relationship between middle-class family and class ideologies: either the ideal family is upheld and the child character climbs the social class ranks; or the social hierarchy is upheld, and the child character is left without a family unit. The text serves as another example of the dependence of the ideal nuclear family, and on extended familial roles, on middle-class norms and finances. As such, it demonstrates how when a benefactor is attempting to intervene in a situation where the working-class character does not already have their own ideal home life, separate from the responsibilities of the benefactor, it is impossible to uphold both class boundaries and family ideologies.

Indeed, the final example in this discussion of benefactors who aid working-class children in cheap domestic children's fiction in the nineteenth century is one in which the wealthy benefactors work to reunite the children with lost relatives, thus avoiding the difficulties of class and idealised familial relations altogether. *The Runaways*, part of the *Little Dot Series* published by the RTS in c. 1880, is the tale of two orphan children who run away from the circus and are temporarily taken in by a wealthy family in the neighbourhood. The parents of the household set out to try to find the children's remaining family. Their gardener, it transpires, knows their aunt and uncle, but he struggles with his conscience for some time, as he had vowed to have no contact with his family, until at last his conscience asks him: 'Are you not resisting the Holy Spirit's influence in your resolution to crush the wish that still springs up and makes you live in perpetual warfare with yourself?', and 'Was King Herod right when

for his oath's sake he put to death good John the Baptist? Should he not rather have repented his rash oath?' (49, 50). Eventually, through the gardener, the family is reunited. In this text, the tensions inherent in examining the domestic space in working-class households is absent because the middle-class benefactors are working to create a family unit for the children with members of their own social class. There is therefore no need to confront the contradictions revealed in other similar texts, in much the same way as class ideologies around benevolence towards the poor can exist without challenging familiar ideologies in texts where the working class child's parents are alive, present, and capable – or at least capable of being educated. In the end, the text serves to demonstrate that these two ideologies – class roles and family roles – exist uneasily alongside each other, and can only be brought to coexist harmonically when issues of class, benevolence, and family are kept entirely separate from one another, and thus remain unchallenged.

It is noticeable that the manner in which all of these different issues are represented varies dramatically from text to text. Part of this difference may simply be due to restrictions of length: a chapbook could not explore ethical questions with the same nuance and depth as a full-length novel. But it is not only the text itself that offers different images. For example, both of the illustrations in Figure 3.6 offer an idyllic view of life in the countryside. *Dottie's Pets: Pictures with Verses* (Dean and Son, 1885, no price given, 44 pages with colour illustrations) achieves this through a scene by a river, with children playing by the water. But *Dean's The Red Apple* in their *Illustrated Farthing Books* series (Dean and Son, c. 1857-1865, sold for a farthing) shows a child at work. While there is no price given on *Dottie's Pets*, it is highly probable that the *Farthing* book, being by far the cheapest publication in the corpus, was considerably less money, despite both fitting the parameters for the corpus. Because they were published around twenty years apart, and one is more expensive than the others the difference in colour and detail in the illustrations is not surprising. But the subject itself is not a result of

changing technology. Rather, the image of middle-class children extends the domestic sphere out into the fields where the children play, while the working-class child shows the outdoors as a place of work. Nonetheless, in both examples, the story is a domestic fiction, and so the illustration on the cover of *The Red Apple* also connects the labour of the working-class children to their domestic sphere. As the beginning of this chapter acknowledges, the domestic sphere itself does extend out of the confines of the home: but these two illustrations reveal that such an outside space looks very different depending on the social class of the child characters in question.

In the text of *The Red Apple*, a little 'cripple' boy, Johnny, gives his apple to a bully and slowly builds up a relationship with him until he is reformed. The purpose of the lesson, the narrator explains, is that 'one little good act brought on another and another, till there was

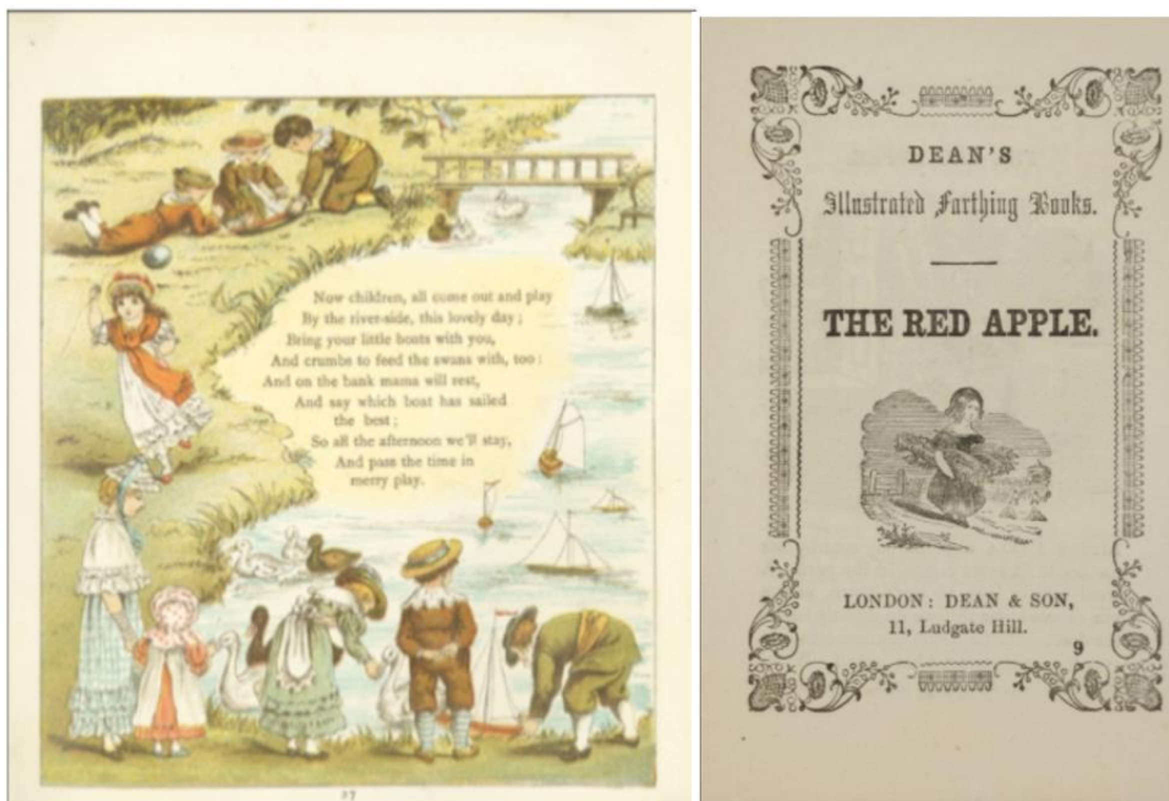


Figure 3.6: Images of the countryside from cheap children's texts. Left: *Dottie's Pets: Pictures with Verses* (Dean and Son, c. 1885, no price given), p. 10. Right: *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books: The Red Apple* (Dean and Son, 1857, price 1/4d), front cover.

quite a chain of good deeds', and that we should be kind to those who are cruel to us in order to help them become good (8). But the story falters when examining the characters themselves, for Johnny is not motivated by any truly altruistic desires. Rather, when his father remarks that he doesn't much like the other boy, he agrees: 'Not so much; but I want him to like me' (6). The moral might be to be good to others, but Johnny's motivation for doing good is not to help the other boy, but to be liked himself, which is not an altruistic Christian motive. So not only is this text connecting the working-class rural domestic sphere to work through the cover illustration, it then further complicates the integrity of the domestic sphere by demonstrating that the moral lesson of the text is unsound. The ideal nuclear family, with the parent teaching upstanding moral lessons to the children within the safety of the metaphorical, if not the physical, home, is upended. The child is attempting to teach another child, with selfish reasons. His father neither calls him out nor attempts to teach him that he is wrong. Despite attempting to teach a clear lesson about being kind to others, the text reveals the fragility of the space in which those lessons are supposed to be taught, because the appearance of a straightforward moral is given precedence over the integrity of the moral itself. Where eighteenth-century authors were fearful of leaving texts open to interpretation, this text offers what appears to be an explicit lesson that does not in fact match the events and meaning of text itself. In doing so, the text leaves the domestic sphere that is supposed to be the home space of these teachings open to criticism as well.

The use of moral lessons in these cheap stories has been alluded to above in discussions of *Cloudland* and *Lame Jemmy*, and further examination is undergone when exploring the narrator's voice later in this chapter. However, it is worth noting that even within the *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books* series itself, there are other examples of this occurring. For example, in *Eye Service and Love Service* (Dean and Son, c. 1857-1865, 8 pages, sold for a farthing), two sisters obey their mother even when she is absent, unlike their neighbour, and thus avoid

being taken in by a fortune teller. The narrator states that this is proof that the girls were performing their service out of love for their mother:

> [w]hen we serve those with whom we happen to be in a careless kind of way, and only because we are looked after, it is called eye service: but when we do so willingly and from a motive to please, it is then termed a service of love and affection. (2-3)

However, there is no reference through any of the text that the girls loved their mother, or that it was that affection that motivated their choice. Certainly, they both insist that they must be obedient even when their mother is absent, but if the difference between 'eye' and 'love' service is in motivation, there is no evidence of that within the text itself. Indeed, throughout *Dean's Farthing Books* and many other shorter texts, including those listed above, the moral is founded in the furthering of the plot rather than in an exploration of the motivations and psyche of the characters themselves. Unfortunately for the stated aims of these texts, this often results in a confusing of the moral, just as in *Cloudland* explored above: the moral that the text claims to teach is not necessarily the one that the text and characters really support. There are exceptions to this general lack of exploration of character psychology and motivation, and repentance narratives are not unusual, but even within those narratives, much of the focus is placed on the way that the character changed outwardly and how this then affected their surroundings. This is a very different approach to that taken by more canonical texts such as *Froggy's Little Brother* ('Brenda', or Georgina Castle Smith, 1875) or *The Daisy Chain* (Charlotte M. Yonge, 1856), which also have clear lessons but are far more character-driven, with a heavy focus on exploring the motives and internal psychologies of the characters and the ways in which these motives then influence the outcomes of the plot.

By contrast, books in RTS's *Little Dot Series* are around 80 pages long with cloth bindings, were sold for only sixpence, and were often used as school prizes. Titles in the *Little Dot Series* with a domestic setting include *Soldier Sam and Lillie's Dream, Talks with Uncle*

Morris, The Two Roses, Olive Crowhurst: A Story for Girls, Rachel River; or, What a Child May Do, and *Show Your Colours and Other Stories*. All of these texts are Type A or B (didactic religious and moral texts respectively), with a single stated moral or religious lesson, except *Talks with Uncle Morris*, which contains several episodic chapters of different conversations with different lessons attached. However, while the moral is clear and stated, *Little Dot* books often engage more with the motivations and desires of the characters than do shorter cheap texts, and employ a style far more reminiscent of canonical children's novels of the period, albeit in a slightly more limited way that usually confines the exploration to a single character. For example, *Olive Crowhurst* tells the story of a girl who has been living with a wealthier relative and returns home spoiled and discontent, and fights with her employer. Her mother despairs of her, but a local woman offers to pay to send her to a good boarding school, where she learns to be good and to love God, and returns home quiet, steady and obedient, before going to her old employer to look after her in her illness, where they reconcile. Throughout, Olive's journey is one of emotional responses and slow repentance, until finally she is able to meet her old employer with gentle kindness: 'Olive pitied her, and felt glad she had come' (60). The narrator encourages the reader to notice the changes, but the focus is on Olive's development as a character rather than her character being the main driving force of the plot. Framed in this manner, Olive seems much closer to well-developed canonical characters such as Jo from *Little Women* or Ethel from *The Daisy Chain* than the two-dimensional characters of *Dean's* series, despite the fact that these series were published very close together in time. This suggests that the development of an interest in character psychology and motivations was not purely, as has been indicated by a number of critics of canonical nineteenth-century children's literature, a change over time as children's authors recognised the child reader's 'need to wonder and laugh and dream and to live in a world of his own making' (Thwaite, 82). Rather, the restrictions of text length played a huge and as yet almost

entirely unacknowledged part in determining the degree to which the motives and desires of characters could be explored, examined, and used to teach lessons of morality, repentance, and faith.

The Narrator's Voice

There is one voice of undeniable adult authority, however, that has not yet been touched on: the all-encompassing voice of the narrator. The scope and true scale of the part played by the narrator in cheap nineteenth-century children's books is a large topic – and indeed, the field of narratology in general has historically been sadly neglected within studies of children's fiction. In a 2004 essay, Maria Nikolajeva acknowledges that '[n]arrative theory is perhaps the area of political enquiry least explored by children's literature scholars', despite the fact that

> narrative theory is highly relevant to that study of children's literature [as] [o]ne of the profound characteristics of children's literature is the discrepancies between the cognitive level of the sender (adult) and the implied addressee (child). (n.p.)

Further explorations into the field have been made since then, not least by Nikolajeva herself, although Barbara Wall's *The Narrator's Voice* (1991) remains seminal to any discussion surrounding the narrator within children's books. Nevertheless, narratology is still an unrepresented field within the study of children's fiction: and that this leaves an unfilled gap within ongoing conversations surrounding the role, place, and authority of the narratorial voice within children's books.

Indeed, to discuss adult/child relationships within cheap domestic children's texts, and adult authority in teaching, guiding, and disciplining both the child characters and by extension the implied child reader, without including some mention of the narrator's voice, would be to leave the conversation unfinished. This is particularly true when including considerations of benefactors outside of direct familial relationship to the characters. I argue that with the

exception of first-person narratives from a child narrator's point of view, within cheap domestic children's fiction the narrator is both the final and ultimate voice of authority while at the same time embodying the ultimate ideal of a benevolent instructor and guide – and, crucially, that this authority does not decrease over time, despite an apparent move away from the use of a narratorial voice that directly intervenes in the text.

Histories of canonical children's literature in the nineteenth century typically view the narrator as diminishing, if not in power, at least in intrusive presence over the course of the century, with Sherwood's *The Fairchild Family* often held up as an example of an interfering or even overbearing narrator at the beginning of the century, who imposes their will and their interpretation of events onto both the characters and the reader's understanding of the text. Mid-century texts such as Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) see the narrator continuing to insert comments, but far less intrusively, while in most later texts, including R. L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) and Rudyard Kipling's *Stalky & Co* (1899), narrators refrain from any metacommentary. However, a brief examination of cheap texts in the early decades of the nineteenth century reveals that while narrators certainly are a notable presence, they typically confine their direct intervention into the text to the beginning or end of the text, with occasional brief comments in the middle, rather than consistently throughout in the style of *The Fairchild Family*. One earlier example that follows this pattern is *Poor Burnuff*, a 16-page text published by Houlston and Son in 1838 with five woodcuts and sold for one penny. In this text the narrator comments that, 'I hope that all the little boys who read this, [sic] may learn thereby how lovely it is to be kind to dumb creatures' (15). This is remarkably close to remarks made in *A Book About Birds*, a text similar to *A Visit to Aunt Agnes* in that it has been included here but may not strictly fit the parameters of the corpus, and was printed by the RTS in 1865. The narrator asserts that

> God taught the birds to make their nests. No one but God could teach them; and whenever we see a bird's nest, we should think of his goodness in caring for the little creatures that he has made. We should also show kindness and mercy to them, and never give needless pain to the smallest or the weakest thing that lives. (3)

Indeed, this style of interjection remains common in cheap domestic fiction throughout the century, even in the final decades. In one late example, *Warne's Little Playmates: Pussy Cat's Adventures* (Frederick Warne and Co., 1887, 32 pages, no price given), a badly brought-up kitten becomes proud and cold, and after being rescued from dangers of her own making as a result of running away from home in order to visit the Queen, the narrator is unmistakably clear in her assessment of whose fault the kitten's pride is:

> As she lay in the sunshine before the cottage door, she thought with great discontent of her life. It was strange that on her way to see the Queen she should have fallen in with an ill-bred cat, and some quite poor people! The bad teaching of Lady Clare now brought forth its evil effects. Blanche despised her friends because they were poor. (17)

In all of these examples, the narrator interjects to comment on the morality of a character's actions, or to encourage specific behaviours in the actions of the reader. And while of course, as is the nature with all cheap fiction, this was not an entirely consistent trend, it is notable that the narrator comments more often and continues to comment for far longer in domestic fiction than in other genres. The rising adventure stories and 'penny dreadfuls' rarely contain any moments of commentary, and the increasing numbers of sentimental or satirical poetry also did not generally utilise the narrator in this way, as can clearly be seen by the rising trends in Type C and D texts (works that mention religion in passing and works with no moral or religious didacticism) in these genres discussed in the previous chapter. By contrast, the domestic story often maintains what was, by the end of the century, a relatively old-fashioned use of the narrator's voice throughout.

Presumably, this was due to an association between the domestic space and the desire for respectability, as well as the connection of the domestic with the feminine and thus domestic fiction with female authors and young readers. By maintaining an intrusive narrator who comments continuously on the events and morals of the story, these domestic texts attain a degree of moral approval that other genres, such as the so-called 'penny dreadful' adventures stories, did not have. Ironically though, the very thing that was used to make them acceptable may in fact have hindered them in their aims to educate and improve the morality of their implied readers. This is because, as Wolfgang Iser explains in *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose and Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (1974), narrators who simply inform readers of the correct way to understand and respond to the story requires nothing of the one doing the reading: they are merely a passive receptacle. By contrast, those texts which require readers to work out for themselves what the 'right' or 'correct' action to take might be result in readers internalising the message of the novel instead of merely passively accepting it. As Iser explains,

> The reader must be made to feel for himself the new meaning of the novel. To do this he must actively participate in bringing out the meaning and this participation is an essential precondition for communication between the author and the reader (30)

and

> If reading removes the subject-object division that constitutes all perception, it follows that the reader will be 'occupied' by the thoughts of the author, and these in their turn will cause the drawing of new 'boundaries'. Text and reader can no longer confront each other as object and subject, but instead the 'division' takes place within the reader himself (293).

If the internalisation of the moral lessons which a story wishes to impart – or social, or cultural, or whatever the aim of a specific text might be – thus requires an effort of interpretation on the

part of the reader, as Iser claims, then domestic cheap fiction which maintains the use of intrusive narrator commentary does not achieve this. Instead, just as the characters themselves act out a socially acceptable version of domesticity, of motherhood, of femininity, and of middle-class benevolence that bears little resemblance to the reality in which many children in the nineteenth century found themselves, so too does the narrator act out respectable morality while failing to encourage the kind of absorption of ethics that the texts claim to desire. The performance of domestic morality can thus be concluded to be more important than the effectiveness of the texts themselves – even after all other genres have begun to move away from such moments of pleading for respectability and acceptance. In the end, the legacy of the moral authors of the late eighteenth century who were so opposed to allowing child readers space to interpret their texts out of a fear that they may interpret them wrongly that they over-explained every point seems to have shifted over the course of the nineteenth century into one which valued the presence of morality, but one that while spoken was not emphasised in the same consistent way, over the internalised teachings of the lessons of the text itself.

Conclusion

Although many of the same ideologies and tropes that can be found within canonical domestic children's fiction are utilised within cheap children's texts, the failures and limitations of these tropes are revealed throughout the cheap domestic genre of children's literature. Gilbert and Gubar have argued persuasively that adult canonical fiction often attempts to 'kill' the angel or monster female. This chapter has shown, however, that in these cheap children's texts the female characters, particularly the mother figure, exist to guide and educate the child characters, and so are reproduced with far less questioning than in expensive adult works. Even so, this seemingly straightforward reproduction of the ideals of domestic motherhood are

complicated by the requirements of that very position. Arizpe, Styles, and Heath argue in their examination of Johnson's archive that in order to be a successful mother, a nineteenth-century woman was expected both to have a large amount of free time to devote to her children, and be highly educated herself. The working-class mother characters are simply unable to meet these standards. The result is that even in cheap fiction, domestic tales often depict a kind of domesticity more strongly associated with the middle classes, where ideals of motherhood and domesticity can be reproduced successfully. Furthermore, while the longer canonical novels have the capacity to explore or excuse certain failures in characters, the short length of cheap texts requires a directness and a focus that reveal a text's priorities more clearly, and thus leave little space for covering up the impossibilities, or at least unlikeliness, of the very things that the texts claim to desire the child reader to wish for or to attempt to emulate. Ultimately, these texts serve to reveal such failures and expose the tensions embedded in these very ideologies.

Chapter 4. Nationalities and Foreign Places

The LION, ‘Britannia Rule,’ sung mighty well:

The TIGER, ‘in English Roast Beef,’ did excel.

While others made all the wide valley to ring,

With ‘Nile's Glorious Battle,’ and ‘God Save the King.’

(*The Elephant's Ball, and Grand Fete Champêtre: Intended as a Companion to those much admired Pieces, The Butterfly's Ball and The Peacock 'At Home'* published 1808, 15)

It has long been recognised that nineteenth-century Britain was, in effect, a ‘global’ nation, with political and commercial interests stretching across the world. Concerns over the moral, ethical, and religious justifications for the expansion and maintenance of the empire preoccupied much of the second half of the century. Even before that, a fascination with the sea, travel and discovery echo through publications available to every section of society, from chapbooks to novels to scientific papers. The world outside of Britain and places abroad, whether in the empire or not, are represented across almost every genre of fiction, particularly works for children, throughout the nineteenth century. These works were particularly important, because for many of the poorest children, the stories told within cheap print were the only real representations of foreign lands that they might have access to. On the other hand, it is also widely accepted that how these far-flung places were represented in fiction – or even in non-fictional texts – rarely reflected the reality experienced by those living in these places: especially for the non-white people in the Empire. As Helen Goodman explains in her essay on H. Rider Haggard, there was little interest in creating realistic depictions of life abroad:

> The vast difference between the adventures depicted in fiction and the likely realities of a young reader’s future career in the colonies do not seem to have produced much

> comment [from readers in the nineteenth century]. Imagination and practicality are intermingled to give an illusion of realism (243).

This lack of contemporary comment may have arisen from an assumption that those readers who were preparing for a 'future career in the colonies' understood that the real experience would differ from the stories. But for those British children who would have had access only to the cheapest publications, and entertained few expectations of ever going abroad themselves, it is salutary to ask, what kind of world were they given to understand they lived in? If the existence of the colonies, their rule, and their management, was so fundamentally important to the nineteenth-century consciousness, how were those places represented in popular publications? And how were places outside of the empire represented?

In this chapter, I argue that cheap popular texts for children present stock-like images of the different regions of the world through the extensive use of stereotypes and national images across the century. To do this, I first demonstrate the breadth and extent of depictions of places outside of Britain within my corpus. I then offer a close case study of a specific genre of texts set in a single location; namely, missionary fiction in India. Through this study I show that there was a remarkable consistency in the ways India and missionary work were represented. The scope of the chapter is then expanded to encompass all genres of texts except boys' adventure fiction, as these have been examined extensively before and are too long to fit within the scope of the corpus (although many were originally serialised in cheap periodicals). Some of the critics that have explored these canonical works are discussed in this section; notably, Patrick Brantlinger (2013, 2013), Graham Dawson (1994), and Florian Krobb (2016). The focus of this final section is on the three places most commonly depicted in full-length texts: desert islands, Western Europe, and the Middle East. The results reveal a remarkable degree of imagological consistency across the century for each of these regions, creating a clear map of the world – if a distorted one that only reflects British interests - for child readers.

Although my application of imagological criticism is concentrated in the second half of this chapter, the relevance of imagology to the representations of foreign nations renders it necessary to outline the use of the term from the start. Imagology is the examination of how texts use images (not necessarily illustrations) to construct national identities. As Malgorzata Swinderska explains, imagology involves 'research into the so-called "national images" in literary works where they may be encouraged as the "images of strangers" (members of nations or ethnic groups) often in the form of stereotypes, cliches, or myths' (215). Emer O'Sullivan expands further on this idea:

> [i]mages of foreign nations and cultures may be used in literature to instil a sense of national identity in the process of socialisation and take such extreme forms as propaganda, usually produced by means of contrast. The foreign element [acts as] as a foil against which the domestic identity appears more clearly most often more favourably ('Imagology Meets Children's Literature', 8).

These broad definitions create a template for examining individual representations of places and people in specific texts. More relevant to this study, however, is that imagology also provides a framework for exploring how national images and stereotypes evolved over time and across a vast number of texts. Imagological criticism argues that these images eventually create widely accepted though greatly simplified versions of other nations that came to be regarded as true and fed into ideas of British national identity itself.

The kinds of images studied by imagologists often have little interest in or connection to the realities of the places they purport to represent. Instead, they speak to a textual context arising from, in this case, the British readers rather than the foreign characters. As O'Sullivan explains, 'images of foreign nations are never innocent […]. The images tell more about the observer than the observed, even more acutely when the observer is the object of self-

representation' ('S is for Spaniard', 345). This is possibly nowhere more evident, or more crucial, than in the popular children's literature in my corpus, which was accessible to a wide range of social classes, many of whom would have few other sources of information about the world abroad or Britain's place in it. There were certainly maps in schools and educational toys which showed where countries were, but in terms of narrating and picturing other countries and peoples, the majority of children would have relied on popular print. At the time, then, there was little to challenge the images presented in these texts of other people and places, and of Britain itself. This means they offer particularly fascinating insights into how the world was understood and imagined by children at the time.

One of the assumptions made by critics such as M. Daphne Kutzer when examining the representation of foreign places in nineteenth-century children's fiction is that the vast majority of these come under the heading of boys' adventure stories, including those in so-called 'penny dreadfuls'. This idea is summarised in Kutzer's critical study, *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books*, where she explains that she focuses on canonical children's literature since most popular fiction was produced solely because it was easy and made economic sense – that is, it appealed to a wide audience and was easy to sell to the masses. When discussing the latter parts of the nineteenth century, she writes:

> The omnipresence of empire in popular juvenile fiction is no surprise. Empire and exploration lend themselves to sensationalism, to ceremony, to jargon and lingo and secret societies, all of which have an appeal for children, and especially for boys of the period. But the omnipresence of empire in what are known as "classic" works for children is more surprising, and suggests how deeply the culture of empire was embedded in Britain, and how important adults thought the empire was to the rising generation. (10)

The belief underlying this quotation, that ‘classic’ texts inherently have deeper meaning and are a better representation of the embedded nature of empire in culture than non-canonical texts, can be set aside since the importance of examining popular texts has already been discussed in the introduction to this study. Even then, Kutzer assumes that adventure stories in foreign places proliferated because they were easy to sell as sensationalist texts (her discussion also covers a number of other kinds of appeal that these stories had). Kutzer’s criticism is not confined to boys’ fiction, but her focus on ‘classical’ texts does mean that most of the cheap texts within my corpus are excluded from her research. Since these works provide a different dynamic from both the canonical texts Kutzer explores and the popular boys’ fiction that is her principal concern, they offer different insights into how foreign places would have been imagined by young readers.

Indeed, in these cheap, popular works, empire was by no means confined to sensational stories or adventure tales, nor were texts set abroad marketed exclusively for boys. Rather, my corpus indicates that a wide range of texts across the century explored vastly different settings and plots. As shown in the previous chapter, domestic settings were by far the most common, and these domestic spaces were often placed in the British countryside. This does not mean, however, that the number of texts set outside of the domestic sphere were insignificant: indeed, since home is the ‘default’ setting, texts set elsewhere are imbued with extra resonance and purpose. In order to establish what this purpose may have been, it is necessary to provide an overview of the places in which popular texts across the century are set. The corpus of popular children’s texts explored here have been split into 19 categories as set out in the table below:

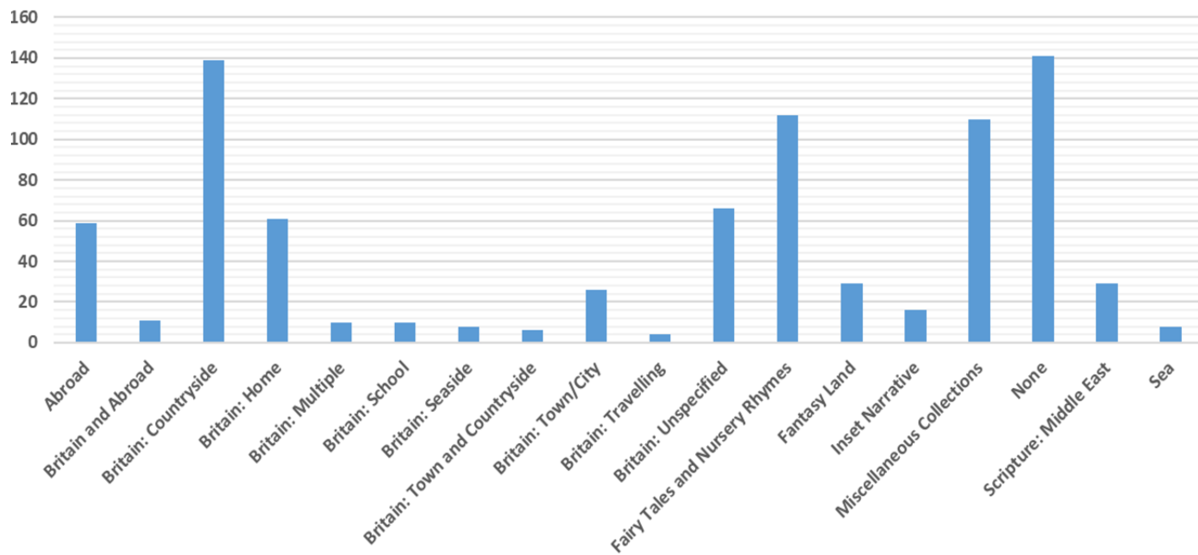
Figure 4.1: Table showing Place Settings of Texts in the Corpus	
Place	**Parameters**
Abroad	Part of the story takes place abroad, or a character is sent abroad or tells a story about being in a foreign country. NOTE: 12 of the 63 texts in this category included two distinct places (eg, America and Britain, the Sea and India) and thus these texts have been counted twice in the 'Abroad' table.
Britain: Country and Town	The entire story takes place in Britain, but the setting shifts between countryside and town or city.
Britain: Countryside	The story takes place in the British countryside. Either the setting is described, it is outright stated that the characters are in the country or a village, or descriptions of rural life such as harvesting or feeding hens and pigs create a setting.
Britain: None/Unspecified	Stories about British history, British military heroism, or instructional works on the counties and areas of Britain.
Britain: By the Sea	Texts that take place by the sea. A number of earlier texts discuss the dangers of wreckers and the valour of lighthouse workers, and later texts are usually poems or short descriptions of children visiting the seaside on holiday or while convalescing.
Britain: Town/City	The text takes place in a town or a city. Sometimes London is mentioned by name. Once, Liverpool is named. No other cities or towns are given identities as a setting.
Britain: Travelling	Story takes place within Britain, but on the road (or train).

Collection	A group of short stories, poems, etc., that do not share one single setting. Also includes many periodicals, with multiple articles focussing on different topics and places.
Fairy Tales and Nursery Rhymes	Set in the kind of generalised imaginary land loosely based on ideas of medieval Europe associated with fairy tales and nursery rhymes, and thus while connected to the 'countryside' or 'rural' or 'traditional' life, it exists on a sort of timeless, placeless, separate plane.
Fantasy Land	Takes place in a made-up world
Home	Setting is within the domestic sphere, and it is never stated where that is. For example, texts that take place entirely indoors, or that mention the garden, the street, or going shopping, but do not give any indication of the places where these things are.
Military	Texts that describe or involve soldiers or military life abroad.
Multiple	More than two settings are involved, for instance in sailing to multiple places or travelling across Europe. A category for those works that overlap several of the other categories.
None	There is no definitive setting – for example, alphabets, verses or jingles about people with no sense of place, sermons or pamphlets and other nonfictional texts, and so on.
School	All or most of the text takes place inside a school, usually a boarding school.

Scripture: Middle East	Story is a retelling of scripture with a historical Middle Eastern setting filtered through a Christian lens.
Sea	The text takes place on a ship, or a character 'going to sea' is discussed in the tale. Does not always involve a specific destination or place where the character is going to.
Inset Narratives	The text is framed as a story being told by a character in a different setting to the majority of the tale – for example, a mother at home telling a story about a boy in India, or a father in London telling a story about a child in the countryside.
Unspecified	Story takes place outside of the immediate domestic setting, but it is never made explicitly clear whether it is in the countryside or the city. Most of these can be assumed to take place in Britain – but if they were also sold, for example, in America, then American children could often probably read it as taking place there too.

Figure 4.2 shows the different places represented in texts across the corpus. As can be seen, by far the most common are the British countryside (140 texts), None (133 texts), Fairy Tales and Nursery Rhymes (110 texts), and Collections (99 texts). The sixth largest category comprises texts which take place in part or primarily in countries abroad. However, this is not the only category with elements set outside of Britain. Categories of texts with settings such as the Sea, Scripture tales set in the Middle East, military stories set abroad, inset narratives set outside of Britain, representations of foreign places in miscellaneous collections, and tales with multiple settings, all include elements that represent places abroad. Put together, all of these texts add

Figure 4.2: Chart showing Settings for Texts in the Corpus



up to 110 texts. As well as this is the fact that both ‘Collections’ and ‘None’ do not have any recognisable setting at all, meaning that the ‘Abroad’ category is arguably the fourth largest category depicting a clear sense of place. That said, texts with one or two stories that exclusively, primarily, or significantly explore places outside of Britain total only 61 out of 877 (that is, less than 7% of all texts). If it is true that sensationalist adventure stories were produced *en masse* because they were viewed as money-spinners, this number might be expected to be considerably higher. Instead, there is a notable absence of texts of this kind compared to the other major categories of setting. It seems, given the proportions of texts involved, more accurate to suggest that where publishers needed a quick sale of a cheaply produced product, they favoured stories of the British countryside or reproductions of fairy tales and nursery rhymes, not adventure stories. Stories of places abroad were not a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century of course, as has been demonstrated by Andrew Pettegree’s *The Invention of News: How the World came to Know about Itself*. However, the fact that these texts are not as common as fairy tales and domestic stories suggests that they were still not the first choice for publishers in need of fast profit, and so when they were produced, there was likely to be more than one motivation for doing so.

Another problem with Kutzer's assumption that settings abroad were primarily used in popular fiction because they 'lend themselves to sensationalism, to ceremony, to jargon and lingo and secret societies' is the change in the dominant locations where texts are set over time. Figure 4.3 clearly shows that stories set outside of Britain were being produced from the beginning of the century, and thus were not merely products of the rise of adventure fiction after 1850. In fact, although more texts set abroad were produced towards the end of the century, this growth is in line with an increase in publishing in general and thus does not necessarily indicate a significant expansion in the percentage of popular texts set outside of Britain.[6] Indeed, the number of full texts in the corpus which are set abroad remains remarkably steady across the century, further calling into question Kutzer's claims. What, then, were these texts about, and what were they trying to represent?

While canonical, adventure, and sensational fiction set abroad in the latter half of the nineteenth century have been examined by critics such as Theodore Koditschek (2011), Florian Krobb (2016), John Miller (2012), Gerald Monsman (2000), Eleanor Reeds (2017), and numerous others, other genres have received less attention. Many of these critical works explore stories about Africa, a dominant setting in canonical works. However, there is very little criticism examining representations of, for example, the Middle East. And while missionary fiction set abroad has certainly been examined by critics including Felicity Jensz (2012), Anna Johnston (2003), Laura M. Stevens (2004), and many others, once again the focus has usually been placed either on canonical children's writers such as Mrs. Sherwood, on periodicals, or on the vast body of missionary writing in general. There is virtually no criticism examining how popular children's texts specifically represented particular places over the course of the century. This chapter thus aims to address these gaps by examining genres within

[6] This number is, of course, only indicative of the texts within my corpus, the limitations of which have been explored in the Introduction.

Places Represented	Number of Texts
Africa	1
America	6
Ancient Greece	1
Arabia	3
Bohemia	1
Canada	1
China	1
Copenhagen	1
Europe	2
France	3
Germany	1
India	8
Ireland	1
Island	5
Jamaica	1
Lebanon	1
Middle East	1
Multiple	8
Padua (Fictional)	1
Sicily	1
Switzerland	1
Unspecified	10
Unspecified Eastern country	4
Grand Total	**63**

Figure 4.3: Table showing Number of Texts Set in Places Abroad

cheap children's print less commonly explored within nineteenth century popular children's literature.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, a wide range of settings were employed in popular children's texts. As Figure 4.3 shows, these include the largest category in the table, 'Unspecified'. 'Unspecified' refers to stories in which a character 'goes to sea' or retells a story about a foreign country or city without ever explicitly stating what country or city it is. The lack of any concrete setting suggests that there was often more of an interest in places being 'Not Britain' than in what those places were themselves. 'Britain' itself is also a broad designation – the Scottish Highlands might seem exotic to a child in London – but given that these places could conceivably have their own British publishers (like those works published in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century), these places were not reliant on publishers that are foreign to them for their representation within the popular market. Many texts representing places abroad are also retellings of traditional stories such as those about Sinbad or Blue Beard in which the original Middle Eastern or Eastern Orient setting is not made explicit. Likewise, the category in Figure 4.4 of 'unspecified Eastern

country’ includes retellings of the *Arabian Nights*, particularly ‘Aladdin’, and ‘Blue Beard’, where the setting is broadly ‘oriental’, but they are set not in a definitive time period but rather a hazy ‘past’ in the same fashion as European fairy tales. The single exception to this pattern

Row Labels	**1799-1810**	**1811-1820**	**1821-1830**	**1831-1840**	**1841-1850**	**1851-1860**	**1861-1870**	**1871-1880**	**1881-1890**	**Grand Total**
Africa				1						1
America		1	1	1	2			1		6
Ancient Greece		1								1
Arabia			1					2		3
Bohemia				1						1
Canada							1			1
Copenhagen							1			1
Europe						2				2
France		1							1	2
Germany				1						1
India					1		2	2	3	8
Island				1				1	2	4
Jamaica								1		1
Lebanon					1					1
Middle East	1									1
Multiple	1			1	1		2	3		8
Padua (Fictional)								1		1
Sicily						1				1
Switzerland					1					1
Unspecified	2		1	3				3		9
Unspecified Eastern country							1	2	1	4
Grand Total	**4**	**3**	**3**	**9**	**6**	**3**	**7**	**16**	**7**	**58**

Figure 4.4: Table showing Places Abroad Represented in Texts in the Corpus Over Time

when representing the Middle East is *The Victoria Tales and Stories: Tales of the Lebanon* by the Religious Tract Society, which is explicitly grounded in the region of Lebanon.

Similarly, the nations that are represented several times tend to share common themes within the texts. The most obvious of these is the USA, where all but one later story refer back to the slave trade, with the earlier texts expounding its evils. While a desert island may seem like a prime setting for new and sensational adventure tales, all but one of the stories set on an unnamed desert island are retellings of *Robinson Crusoe,* a story which itself has multiple settings and its retellings have also been set in various parts of the world. The exception is a retelling of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Equally, there are clear changes in what was being represented over time: as Figure 4.4 indicates, India only began to feature in the corpus from the middle of the century, while texts specifying that they are set in Arabia disappear in 1850. This is notable, because canonical children's texts were discussing India far earlier in the works of, for instance, Mary Martha Sherwood. Likewise, India was certainly being discussed in newspapers in the first parts of the nineteenth century. This discrepancy may be partly a result of the small numbers of texts being examined here, but it may also indicate that these earlier canonical texts were not representative of which places were being examined within cheaper fiction in different parts of the century.

More intriguing than what is present, however, is what is missing. These tables include only works that are either full-length texts or are made up of two or three stories (or one prose story and one poem), and thus they exclude compilations. Many other places were discussed in, for example, religious periodicals, and collections of rhymes. Only these countries, however, were deemed so important, necessary, intriguing, or saleable that they warranted full-length texts that discuss them. What was it that made these particular places suitable for representation, and not others? One glaring omission is Australia, a nation that would have been familiar to many poorer children by reputation, and possibly to a very small number

through friends or family who had emigrated or been transported. Equally, only one full-length text discusses Africa, despite the fact that it was a popular location for more canonical texts, such as H. Rider Haggard's *She: A History of Adventure* (1888). Remarkable amounts of the map are left blank in these stories, across the entire century. This suggests that the places which are represented hold some significance. These settings, and therefore these texts, thus warrant further investigation to examine the nature and purpose of these countries' representations.

Missionary Fiction in India

A significant proportion of the texts set in places outside of Britain are missionary tales. This remains true even under a narrow definition of what a 'missionary text' is. Most criticism of missionary writing encompasses letters, diaries, sermons, and other unpublished texts as well as those designed for publication. But even when confining the discussion to those texts that fit within this study's corpus, a total of 17, or 29%, are Type A texts – that is, texts with a heavy focus on didactic religious instruction. This high percentage is made even more significant when considering that, as discussed in Chapter 3, such texts were not prioritised by collectors or those responsible for conserving print matter, meaning a large number have been lost. It is likely, therefore, that the true number of Type A texts set abroad would have been considerably higher. This small cluster also does not take into account the vast number of religious periodicals that examined missionary activity or included foreign settings in their stories, some of which are noted in the 'Collections' category. Even so, the full-length texts within the corpus demonstrate that these missionary stories represented and discussed a wide range of themes and places. However, the cultural significance of India to the British Empire, as well as the huge interest that a number of religious associations (most notably the Religious Tract Society) had in the sub-continent makes it feasible to examine the Type A texts set in India as a case study for the ways in which religious themes were discussed in texts set outside of Britain.

Focussing on texts set in India makes it possible to examine their shared themes, concerns and depictions without painting all of the British Empire and its complex relations with the same brush.

Indeed, India was so important to both the imperial mission and the general public's perception of Britain's centrality on the world stage across the nineteenth century that it provides a useful lens through which to consider missionary work within popular print culture for the young. This section uses corpus texts set in India to examine how popular print encouraged young readers to understand their place in the world as of considerable cultural, moral and religious significance. Two main strategies were used to do this is in missionary works: parables and propaganda. The first focused on child readers' faith, while the second called for action, including prayer, raising money, involvement in missionary activity, and recruiting future missionaries. This case study of one specific genre in one particular country, offers insights into the complexities, contradictions and continuities in how the concept of 'abroad' was represented. Additionally, the examples below demonstrate that there is a clear connection between race and class relations within popular children's literature in this period.

Scholars including Anna Johnston (2003) Anthony Kearney (1983), Hugh Morrison (2010), and Laura M. Stevens (2004) have written on the extensive reach and wide scope of missionary writing, and all acknowledge the role played by texts published specifically for children across the body of these wide-ranging works. Both Kearney and Stevens argue that part of the appeal of these stories was that they were a socially acceptable adventure tale that linked British national identity to a specific type of Christianity (Kearney 106, Stevens 6). However, while it is possible to identify some missionary stories with affinities to adventure tales, these do not make up the bulk of missionary texts within the corpus. On the contrary, a large number of Type A texts set abroad follow a parable-like structure that offers a short story that ends with the narrator asking child readers to engage with the spiritual or religious lesson

of the text. Examples of such texts based in England or set in a character's home include but are in no way limited to: *Little Robert and the Owl* (Houlston and Sons, 1834); *The Name on the Rock* (RTS c. 1847-1862); *The History of Little George and his Penny* (1824); and texts from both the *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books* (c. 1857-1865) and the *Victoria Tales and Stories* (Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1870) series. All of these texts are similarly constructed: a character either learns a moral or religious lesson and benefits from it, or fails to learn and is punished, almost always followed by the narrator commenting on the lesson directly to the reader.

Examples of this genre in texts about countries abroad abound. Three representative parable-like tales set abroad are *The Two Rich Young Men*; *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books: Little Frank, the Indian*; and *Nayah, the Hindoo Convert*. The first of these, *The Two Rich Young Men*, was published by the RTS c. 1847-1868, has no stated price, and comprises 12 pages and one woodcut illustration. It tells a story involving what, to modern sensibilities, is a shockingly casual form of anti-Semitism. It contrasts a Jew's and a Brahmin's attitudes to giving up their worldly wealth in order to win a place in heaven. The focus is not so much on their nationalities, although the casual anti-Semitism present in the text is undeniable, as it is on the fact that they are simply people who grew up outside of a Christian environment and had to respond to the call to convert. The text concludes with the narrator warning the reader that

> The young Hindoo gave up four large estates and fifty thousand pounds: the young Jew clung to his riches. It is true, we are not tried as they were; yet we are called to give up the ways of sin, the follies of the world, and the service of Satan (8).

Another such text is *Little Frank, the Indian*, published by Dean and Son c. 1861-1870, paper bound and sold for a farthing. In this tale, a white child returns to England from India because of his poor health and desperately misses his father. Seeing his distress, a sailor reminds him

that he can make his father present by remembering his teachings and thinking of what he would want, even if he is not physically there. The narrator concludes that '[j]ust so may you go to Jesus. He is not to be seen with your eyes; but you know that in His spirit He is always present' (7). A final representative example of the parable story is *Nayah, the Hindoo Convert*, another RTS publication c. 1841-1850, with 12 pages, no known price, and a single woodcut illustration. The text ends with an exhortation to young readers, asking them to

> ask themselves, if they have sought the Saviour that Maria found? They live in a Christian land, and have often heard of that Blessed Name, by faith in which alone they can be saved; and yet, it may be, they have never sought for mercy. (8)

These texts, though set abroad and in two cases focussed on non-white characters, follow a trajectory that moves from abroad to home and from the dramatized experiences of characters to the inner religious life of readers. The pattern is typical of stories modelled on parables, a stock part of texts for children produced by religious publishing houses in the nineteenth century. Indeed, this structure would have been so familiar to most child readers in the nineteenth century that despite the foreign settings in the above texts, the rhythm of the story itself would not have been alien or jarring.

In 'Reading Others Who Read: The Early-Century Print Environment of the Religious Tract Society', a study of RTS tracts for children set abroad, Sara L. Maurer argues that in the first half of the century such works went out of their way to remove any sense of a 'reader community' in order to focus on the moral or religious lesson that the text was attempting to impart. She argues that the typical tract pattern -- a story followed by the narrator speaking directly to readers about their own personal salvation or moral uprightness, similar to a parable-like tale -- degrades readers' ability to connect with the foreign characters or cultures. As a result, 'the social and global consequences of these tracts are left muted' (227). Moreover,

according to Maurer, this structure also inhibits the formation of a sense of community with other British child readers of the same text. She maintains that

> any reading that leaves readers too focused on the human figure in the tract--or on fellow readers of the text--instead of themselves is a failed reading. Given the tracts' demand that readers immediately apply the stories to their own lives, the marginalized status of so many of the tracts' main figures must not be considered a reason for forming solidarity with them. Instead, it was a sign that the tracts' authors and distributors imagined that their readers would view other readers as so different from themselves as to foster a new impression of an old truth. (227)

The pattern of using foreign characters and places to provide lessons explained at the end of the text to a child reader is clear and persistent, but Maurer only identifies one part of its function. Foreign people and places constitute more than an alien backdrop against which the story is set in order to remove familiarity. Rather, even in the moments of direct teaching, the readers' 'Christian land' is contrasted with India. Thus the very act of religious instruction in these texts connects readers to the wider world and bolsters collective national pride. So, for instance, in *Nayah, the Hindoo Convert*, the readers' Britishness is contrasted with 'heathen' children, and the author makes it clear that those who fail to adhere to religious doctrine are inherently worse than the children who have not had the good fortune of being born in such a blessed country. Equally, in *The Two Rich Young Men*, the white missionary takes on the spiritually superior position of religious teacher as he tries to guide both the Hindoo and the Jewish characters. Britishness is thus connected to readers' need to be religious – the two are shown as inherently connected - and then contrasted with the pitiable 'heathen'. Far from isolating young readers, then, these works underpin the sense of connection to nation and religion.

Indeed, it is far more fruitful to consider these texts as part of an interconnected network where each text speaks to and relies on other texts to create images of the places that they are representing. Reading just *The Two Rich Young Men* on its own, or just *Nayah*, would not create the kinds of long-lasting popular ideas about India and Indian culture that seeped into the general imagination over the course of the nineteenth century. Rather, it makes greater sense to approach these texts using the imagological idea of attempting to understand how 'so-called "national images" in literary works […] may be encouraged as the "images of strangers"' (Swinderska, 215). In other words, these texts make use of national stereotyping to present foreigners as universally 'other' and separate from the reader. A closer examination of imagological criticism will be made later in this chapter; here it is important simply to acknowledge the relevance of the general imagological principle of viewing texts about different nations and places as speaking to and about each other in a way that creates stereotypes. Indeed, viewing these texts together in order to gain a sense of how missionaries in India were represented overall in popular children's fiction creates an idea of how Indian culture and people were understood within the popular imagination. As such, the individualised reading recommended by Maurer does not fit the purpose of this particular study.

Another limitation of an individualistic, internalised reading of these texts is that such a reading does not explain why the texts are set abroad, when so many in a similar style are set at home. Maurer's argument suggests that foreign settings are used to defamiliarise the stories, but given how familiar and comfortable the structure of these parable-like tales were, this seems unlikely. Indeed, many such stories are set within the domestic sphere or in the English countryside, and they often feel very similar to these stories set abroad. For example, the author's chiding at the end of *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books: The Young Gardener; and, Good and Bad Marks* (Dean and Son, c. 1857-1865, 12 pages, sold for a farthing) sounds remarkably similar to the narrators of the parable texts described above:

> my dear children, did you ever think that all your bad deeds will leave marks? Yes, marks upon your soul, and perhaps upon the souls of others (7).

Given the similarity in tone and structure to the myriad parable-like stories set in Britain, it seems likely that the intention was to help child readers make the connection between the parable lessons and the wider world. For example, returning again to *Nayah*, earlier in the story the author makes this comment:

> But [India] is a land of sin and idolatry. The Hindoos - which is the name of the people who live there – have more gods than we could count in a whole day. They make images of these gods – large, ugly, painted blocks of wood (3-4).

By foregrounding the elements of race and foreignness, the stories connect readers' personal faith and morality to their nationality. A similar tactic is used in *What is Your Hope*, published by the RTS, c. 1847-1870, with no known price, 12 pages and one woodcut illustration. Here, the narrator describes a missionary coming across a dying Indian clutching a Bible passage, and weeping over his confession of faith as he prepares for heaven. On the first page, the narrator notes that

> The Hindoos looked upon him, and finding that he was likely to die, they left him to perish without pity or help – for these heathens are unkind to the sick and the dying (2).

The unkindness of the locals is thus contrasted with the compassion of the white missionary, who not only stops to help, but cares so deeply for the immortal soul of the Indian character that he cries in happiness when he hears that he loves God. As such, in these texts the individual's 'goodness' and religion are firmly linked to their English identity; the Indian culture is presented as clearly inferior, with the dying Indian character having to assimilate to English ideas as well as adopt the Christian religion in order to win a praiseworthy death.

Perhaps the most interesting of the similarities between these texts and those set at home relates to the readers' social class. Many of the exclamations given by authors in these tales about how 'heathen' children need to be taught, and prayed for, and the implication that they should be grateful to their white teachers for saving their immortal souls sound remarkably similar to the kinds of exclamations made in works discussed in the previous chapter about working-class children who are helped by benefactors. For example, the narrator's admonishment in *My Coloured Picture Story Book* (RTS, c. 1884, 76 pages, no stated price, 64 coloured plates and vignettes) that '[w]e should pray for the poor heathen children of India, that God would send out His light and His truth to lead them to Jesus, who only can take away the sins of the world' (16) is not very unlike the author of *Alice and her Pupil*'s (RTS, c. 1869-1879, 66 pages, priced at threepence) exclamation that

> There are men and women to be found in this highly-favoured country of ours who are unable to read, and who hardly know of what use books are to anybody. How thankful we should feel that we have been better instructed! How ready we should be, whenever it is in our power, to teach others; to help them get such knowledge has well do them good! (16).

Equating the lower classes with the 'poor heathen' creates a connection between the two groups of children that sets them together, separate from the middle-class missionary characters. The presence of middle-class ideology in cheap children's texts throughout the nineteenth century has already been established in the previous chapters. Here, however, the ideologies of class and religion already discussed are further linked to those of both the missionary and the non-white child. The power of the ideal lies in how all-encompassing it is: class, race, and religion, all of which have separate ideologies associated with them, are connected so that accepting one implicitly requires accepting all three.

In fact, these texts seem to work directly against Kearney's argument that the missionary hero was designed to connect to working-class readers. Kearney states that

> [a]part from the appeal of the dangerous adventure in missionary literature, one reason for its popularity was the fact that many of the missionary heroes were men of humble backgrounds, heroes of self-help, who could be easily identified with by young readers from working-class or lower middle-class homes (106-107).

However, while this may be true for some texts with adult characters, most of the corpus texts set abroad centre around middle-class characters, whether child or adult, thus removing the missionary character from working-class sympathies. Equally, the sentiments expressed about the 'poor heathen child' reflect the kinds of things exclaimed about poor working-class British children discussed in the previous chapter. Indeed, when put together with texts set in Britain that follow the same parable format or make the same calls for action and prayer, working-class children are clearly positioned in a way that connects them to foreign children rather than to middle-class missionary figures. For instance, they are similarly expected to be grateful, to obey, and to listen to exhortations towards conversion. Such a reading, focussed as it is on the images of ideal children of foreign races and the working classes together, suggests that these texts are speaking to an identical ideal for behaviours that should be displayed by these children. The fact that both foreign and working-class children are supposed to display the same behaviours creates an association between non-white characters and white working-class readers. This complicates the class and race dynamics associated with the century because it indicates that attempts to suggest equality of white Christians and the overall superiority of white British children to foreign children due to their Christianity would not have been immediately apparent to working-class child readers. They would instead find that the instructions for their behaviour and ideals are almost identical to those expected from non-white children, with both groups being 'rescued' by the middle classes. This difficulty

underscores the tension within relations between race and class throughout the nineteenth century.

One final intriguing fact about these tracts is that despite the emphasis placed by historians on the effects of the so-called Indian Rebellion of 1857 on how the British viewed both themselves and India, and its effect on foreign policy and attitudes to non-white nations for decades afterwards, these events seem to have had little impact on cheap popular children's missionary writings about India as a country. The Indian Rebellion shocked and horrified the British public; until that point it had generally thought that the British presence in India was welcomed by the local people, but the insurrection shattered that belief and led to a complete change in approach to controlling and ruling the sub-continent. Within India, there was a general belief that missionaries had stirred up the discontent and thus directly contributed to the uprising. Indeed, critics have argued that much of the tone of British conversation about the empire and imperialist aims shifted dramatically in mid-century as a response to the Indian Mutiny, paving the way to move from the patronising but less aggressive texts of the early century to the fervour and fear of the later adventure texts ('Victorians and Africans' 170, *Rule of Darkness* 200). By contrast, both the propagandist periodicals and the parable-based tracts changed little in structure or tone from one half of the century to the other. For example, *What is Your Hope?* concludes by asking 'If you have read your Bible, what is your hope? Can you answer this question like the dying Hindoo, and say, "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth all from sin?"' (6). A later publication is, *Dean's Illustrated Farthing Books: Bennie and the Tiger*, another text from the *Farthing Series* like *The Young Gardener*, and also published by Dean and Son c. 1857-1865 and sold for a farthing. This text tells the story of a small boy kidnapped by a tiger while his neglectful nurse slept, but who was then saved by a local Indian man. The texts ends by warning the child reader that

> There is an enemy more dangerous than any beast of the forest, who seeks to destroy both soul and body – Satan, whom the Scripture calls a "roaring lion." He has many servants, who watch like tigers for their prey, ready to spring upon unguarded youth (6).

Both of these feel similar in tone and scope, despite being printed so far apart. It seems that irrespective of the turmoil elsewhere, missionary representations changed very little between the first and second half of the century. The ways in which religious and moral lessons, their connection to child readers, and their message about how these readers were placed in the wider world remained relatively stable across the period covered by this thesis.

In my corpus, texts modelled on parables make up the bulk of the tracts and individual stories that are both set abroad and convey strong religious themes; however, the vast majority of religious texts that explored settings outside of Britain appeared in periodicals, and often had a strong propagandist element to them. These numbered in their hundreds, but given the constraints of space, I have again selected representative examples: *The Church Juvenile Missionary Instructor* and *The Youth's Magazine; or, Evangelical Miscellany*. Typically, such stories attempt to prepare readers to become good Christian British citizens in adulthood, who would go on to support missionary work in their later life. Many also actively encouraged readers to become involved in raising money even as children. The texts employ a mixture of emotional appeals, letters from missionaries describing their adventures, catechisms, Bible teachings, and character dialogues. Little if any distinction is made between the educational fiction, such as a conversation between a mother and daughter about the meaning of the word 'magazine' in the first edition of *Juvenile Missionary* (they agree that the word both refers to a magazine for a gun, and a new type of periodical), and elements that claimed to be factual, such as letters and numerical data. Many of the periodicals, including those incorporating stories and catechisms, maintain a detailed and factual tone throughout.

This factual tone meant that the empire was presented in a straightforward and unquestioned, almost pseudo-scientific manner. These religious periodicals presented an image of the empire that insisted on not just the respectability but the moral goodness of empirical expansion and exploration. This focus on specific places and white missionary impact on them demonstrates a direct contrast to Patrick Dunae's claims that the empire was represented in an almost incidental fashion. In fact, Dunae states that

> In most periodicals that fell into the wholesome category the empire was regarded casually. There were articles on British Africa, Asia, and America, but it was primarily an interest in travel and geography which accounted for such articles. The magazines may have inspired an interest in empire, but there were no editorials exhorting readers to capitalize on their imperial heritage (107).

However, this description does not match the intense scrutiny and precise geography often used in these articles. For instance, a typical extract has a narrator enthuse that

> [t]he good work is still going on in the province of Tinnevelly, in Southern India. There have been above 1100 baptized in this mission during the last year, and 27,000 are now under Christian instruction. One of our Missionaries – the Rev. Sept, Hobbs, stationed at Nuller – tells us that 400 of those amongst whom he labours have recently cast away their idols, and are now seeking the knowledge of the Lord. (*The Church Juvenile Missionary Instructor* for the year 1852, 186).

While the empire is never directly mentioned, since it was widely acknowledged by this time that Britain effectively ruled India, there is a clear assumption that these missionary achievements are bound up with or attributable to imperialism itself.

This assumption informs lessons and histories of the places where the missionaries were teaching. For example, in 1836 the *Evangelical Miscellany* carried several pages teaching

readers about the history of the Hebrew language and its use in the Bible. It also includes letters claiming to be written by both white and non-white missionaries from a wide variety of places, many of which refer to particular social norms in countries or geographical regions overseas. For instance, in one article a Brahmin (a member of a high-ranking family in India) confesses the Gospel in public. The narrator expresses the astonishment of the white preacher thus:

> To hear a Brahmin, in the midst of Benares, the grand seat of Eastern idolatry, pronouncing a blessing on the Gospel, and the bearers of its message, and joined by, perhaps, a hundred of his fellow-citizens; while another, loudly and publicly denounced, as cursed, the Shasters, adored for so many ages through the whole of Hindostan, could not but gladden his heart (33).

The assumed knowledge of child readers here is extensive: they must know who the Brahmins are, what Shasters were, and indeed where Hindostan is. Other texts take pains to explain such facts to their readers as in the tract, *The Two Rich Young Men*, which interrupts the narrative to explain to the reader that Brahmins are 'the highest people in the country, and are held sacred, for they alone may wear a yellow robe' (3). It is a very shallow explanation of the extremely complex social relations within India, and barely touches on the connection of the different social classes to specific Hindu beliefs, but it does provide readers with some sense of what being a Brahmin signifies. In periodicals, it is more common for places and people to be named without any real contextual explanation, such as naming a village without specifying where in in a given country it is, or stating that the people are 'natives' to a particular region without saying where that region is. A letter in the *Evangelical Miscellany* is from a non-white missionary from 'Hatai, in Oneata' gives no indication where that place is to be found on a map or globe. The result is an odd mixture of extremely specific information with limited context, making it at the same time highly engaged with geographical place and yet also almost generic. Readers encountering such mysteries might have been inclined to try to find out more

about them (if they had the means to do so), but perhaps a more common response would be to picture it as 'somewhere else' with a culture incompatible with 'British values'. This creates a sense of all non-white places being essentially interchangeable even while insisting on a sort of pseudo-scientific specificity to their information. It also raises questions about the trustworthiness of these articles. How far can readers believe what they are reading about these faraway places?

To conclude this section, then, it seems that the vast quantity of cheap, popular printed material for children with a focus on missionary work, or Type A texts set in India, followed relatively stable patterns of parable-like tracts and propagandist periodicals throughout the nineteenth century, and in doing so connected child readers' Britishness to their piety. At the crudest level, these works ascribe a moral superiority over non-white races to white British children irrespective of their social class. Paradoxically, as I have shown, at a deeper level many juvenile missionary texts suggest an equivalency between non-white 'heathen' children and white working-class children in Britain. Indeed, these texts almost seem to offer the opposite reading to Kearney's argument that the missionary was a form of working-class hero: the equivalents lie between the non-white characters and the poor child reader, not between the reader and the missionary.

The power dynamics between missionary, reader, and non-white characters are further complicated when texts raise the possibility that not all white characters are necessarily more pious than the non-white characters or that white children may behave as badly as 'heathen' children. Some of the same contradictions are found in what at first appears to be straightforward propaganda on behalf of missionary work, as this is when the connection between working-class readers and non-white characters is stronger than the reader-missionary relationship. Ultimately, however, the overall consistency of these texts and their status as 'approved', unlike many of the later adventure stories, means that they undoubtedly did much

to contribute to the ways in which child readers understood the wider world beyond Britain, at least in terms of how missionaries acted and were received. Little about the actual places is discussed beyond their impact on the act of conversion, making the Christian mission the central concern of the texts, instead of the cultures that are being converted. For those relying on a reading diet of cheap, popular print, the construction of abroad found in materials produced by missionary organisations was one dominated by white missionaries who were morally, spiritually, and intellectually superior to the inhabitants of any nation where they were active and presided over local populations who owed their eternal souls to these saviours. 'Abroad', as it features in these texts, is not a series of specific places, but rather acts a screen upon which British concerns are projected, and within cheap missionary print those concerns centre primarily around conversion and Christian behaviours.

Desert Islands, Western Europe, and the Middle East

While India and missionary literature offer one view into the representation of places abroad within the corpus, other places and nations also regularly appear in popular children's print. These representations display different attitudes to white and non-white races as well as to specific regions. In this final section I demonstrate that my corpus does not reveal a sudden shift in images of places abroad and non-white people in the middle of the century in the way that has been assumed in the standard histories of children's literature by critics such as Patrick Brantlinger. Instead, considerable continuity in the representation of specific places is displayed across the century. To illustrate this continuity, I look at a sample of works examining three different regions: retellings of *Robinson Crusoe* with their depictions of deserted islands; stories that take place in Western Europe; and tales set in the Middle East. These places are treated in distinctly different ways, and so offer a wide range of images and genres to examine.

They are also the settings with the largest number of texts. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, one of the most startling things about a map of the world drawn from popular children's fiction is just how much of it is empty. None of the over 800 texts in the corpus explores Australia, New Zealand, South America, or Eastern Europe, although that does not, of course, mean that they are completely absent in all cheap children's literature across the nineteenth century: it does, however, indicate their relative rarity in comparison with, for example, representations of India.[7] There were also very few texts outside of serialised adventure fiction that were set in Africa: indeed, only two full texts in the corpus are set on the so-called 'Dark Continent' – a direct contrast to the number of adventure tales in the late nineteenth century associated with that continent. Instead, cheap texts of other genres focussed their interests on islands, or in Europe and the Middle East.

Taking an imagological approach to the texts within the corpus is a particularly useful way to understand them. This is not only due to how the cheapness and availability of these texts magnified their impact on the cultural imagination, but also because they were specifically for children. Although very little imagological work has been done within the field of children's literature, Emer O'Sullivan and Martina Seifert have both argued for the importance of its use in interrogating national images introduced to young readers. Indeed, Seifert maintains that J. Leerson was correct when she argues in her essay 'Appropriating the "Wild North": The Image of Canada and Its Exploitation in German Children's Literature' from Andrea Immel and O'Sullivan's edited collection *Imagining Sameness and Difference in Children's Literature: From the Enlightenment to the Present Day* that

[7] With the exception of some periodicals that have small articles which examine these places.

children's literature is of particular interest to the imagologist, who tries to analyse "the complex links between literary discourse on the one hand and national identity-constructs on the other" (215).

When considering early and developing children's print culture, the very fact that texts were aimed at children means the images they convey were designed at some level to form ideas of national identity in young readers' minds. These images of national identities came alongside those of the church, family, parenthood, and social class that have been examined in the previous two chapters and insisted that these ideologies were connected specifically to a superior British identity, which contains the 'correct' version of these ideals. Any subsequently encountered ideas would have to challenge or at least negotiate these images created early on.

It has long been established amongst historians that the way in which the British perceived themselves, their place in the world, and the Empire changed drastically over the course of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most influential voice on this topic within literary studies is that of Patrick Brantlinger, whose numerous critical works have helped shape the field of postcolonial studies for decades. He argues that there was a gradual change in attitude towards the British Empire and imperialism over the course of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Brantlinger shows that by the 1860s there was a move away from fighting for abolition and educating the 'natives' and towards a confident military power that viewed non-whites as dangerous figures who, it was argued, needed to be conquered and controlled. Indeed, when it comes to representations of non-white races, Brantlinger claims that 'certainly by the time *Origin of Species* was published in 1859, the heyday of humanitarianism and missionary optimism, fuelled by the energising crusade against slavery, was over' (*Dark Vanishings* 89-90). Brantlinger and numerous other critics, including Joseph Bristow (2016), Graham Dawson (1994), Florian Krobb (2016), and John Tosh (2005), have repeatedly suggested that later nineteenth-century boy's adventure fiction tended towards a generally confident if xenophobic

representation of the British Empire, one that favoured a particular brand of imperial masculinity, tended to shun the domestic and feminine, and insisted on British moral, spiritual, military, and intellectual superiority over all other races.

These critics argue that adventure fiction in the second half of the nineteenth century tends towards a strongly xenophobic attitude towards non-British people. But this xenophobia is still an outward-looking attitude, rather than one which results in a desire for isolation. When examining the attitudes that readers and characters are encouraged to adopt towards non-white characters, Krobb concludes that,

> stories of daring and adventure in challenging circumstances, which still purported to inform comprehensibly about the visited places, were designed to enable young readers to understand themselves as inhabitants of a globalised world divided into "us" and "them", into a realm of the familiar and a realm of the strange that awaited "familiarisation" (2).

Dawson expands this idea further. She argues that:

> [a]dventure phantasies of exploration and conquest cannot be understood simply in terms of the direct social encounter between colonisers and natives, to which they are in one sense a response. Rather, they must be seen simultaneously as imagos and cultural forms, and locate in terms of those systems of imagination that already invest social relations, making them significant and rendering them inhabitable for a given community according to historical meanings that are reproduced independently of any particular imaginer (48).

There is little in the corpus that casts doubt on the claim that the rise in boy's adventure fiction brought with it a new way of imagining and creating images of the racial other as the end of the century approached. However, the corpus texts include a wide variety of genres published

in the second half of the nineteenth century, not just boy's adventure stories. Indeed, as the earlier chapter on religion and the Church has shown, missionary texts and sermons continued to be published at least into the 1880s. The images of non-white people displayed in these texts, as well as other genres of fiction, do not contain the same dramatic change in the imagological practices of these works as boys' adventure stories do.

Although he does not use the term, Dawson's analysis indicates that one of the best methods for understanding how boy's adventure fiction of this period represented 'strange' and 'familiar' places is through imagological study. Imagology analyses the creation of national identities through images that are effectively stereotypes of national others in texts (sly Spaniards, romantic Frenchmen, stupid Africans, cunning Chinese characters, and so on). Outside of boys' adventure stories, there is a noticeable absence of critical work that examines the creation and perpetuation of these national images in children's literature. In other words, it is still to be established whether a change towards the crueller, more anxiously and aggressively xenophobic attitude that Brantlinger and others have traced in boys' adventure stories (*Dark Vanishings* 89-90) can be applied more generally to the nineteenth-century children's publishing industry. It is equally unclear whether these attitudes held regardless of *where* or *who* was being represented. Were Europe, and Arabia, and the Pacific, and Africa, all subject to the same patterns of representation – that is, did they all see a sudden change in attitude around the 1860s?

The first genre examined to help answer this question is comprised of retellings of *Robinson Crusoe*. The desert island story has an extensive history, but the origins of its popularity are generally connected to chapbook versions of *Crusoe*. In *Children's Literature, Popular Culture, and Robinson Crusoe*, Andrew O'Malley argues that the expectations of readers of the chapbook format resulted in versions of *Robinson Crusoe* that modern novel readers often find perplexing. This is because chapbooks generally rely on certain expected

tropes, and a lack of reader interest in the kind of suspenseful build-up and payoff associated with novels and modern storytelling. This reliance indicates a degree of consistency across different retellings, not least in the way the islands and their inhabitants are represented. The long history of the chapbook in general, which was not originally a designated genre for children, is outside of the scope of this study, but it is certainly true that within the boundaries of cheap children's nineteenth-century fiction, a chapbook-like style of simplified or shortened retellings of *Robinson Crusoe* abounded. In fact, cheap and short versions of the novel continued to be published to the end of the century – even after the chapbooks itself had all but disappeared from the popular press.

Within my own corpus, I have found four versions of Defoe's novel: *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* published by J. Kendrew in York in 1810 and sold for one penny; *The Singular Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* published by Robert Sears and Co. and Thomas Richardson, c. 1835-37, and sold for twopence; *Cassell's Shillings Books: Robinson Crusoe* published by Cassell Petter & Galpin, c. 1868-1878, and sold for a shilling; and *Robinson Crusoe: His Life and Adventures* published by the SPCK and E. & J.B. Young & Co. in 1886, no price given, with 50 pages and 48 chromolithographs. Since the vast majority of these popular texts have been lost to time and it is rare to find more than one version of any story outside of fairy tales, finding four versions of the same story by different publishers in multiple decades is highly unusual – but evidently *Crusoe* exceptional.[8] The fact that retellings were published right across the century strongly indicates the enduring popularity of *Crusoe*. The relevant question for this study, however, is not how often the story was reprinted, but rather what kind of image it presented of the world beyond the borders of Britain. As O'Malley shows, *Robinson Crusoe* served as a form of cultural touchstone that, through various

[8] While there are multiple versions of *Cinderella* and *Red Riding Hood*, *Robinson Crusoe* is the only example of an abridged novel being present in the corpus multiple times.

manifestations, informed a wide range of people's ideas of what Pacific islands, sailing, adventure, and race relations looked like. The corpus versions stand out for their appeal not just to children but to inexperienced readers and those who could not afford more expensive editions.

One example of the consistencies of these retellings is in the character Friday. As discussed above, it is generally agreed by both historians and literary critics that there was a distinct change in the way non-white people were depicted over the course of the nineteenth century. Florian Krobb describes this change, stating that it was

> [m]apped onto the history of colonialist discourse between the mid-nineteenth century and the end of the century – i.e., between the high Victorian mentality of optimism in the "progress" of penetrating and opening up the supposedly Dark Continent […] through the period of conquest that spawned fantasies of subjugation and feminization of Africa such as Henry Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* […], to nightmarish visions of the loss of self and the uncanny nature of engulfment by Africa such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1)

For Krobb, these texts reveal both the 'idiosyncrasies and preoccupations' of the different authors and a level of 'complicity in a common European project of conquest'. This suggests that there were differences between authors, but also different attitudes towards Africa and the Empire in adventure books over the course of the century (1). However true this may have been for depictions of the African continent, the character of Friday in the various versions of *Robinson Crusoe* show a remarkable steadiness. Unlike the ever-changing qualities that Krobb finds in canonical children's novels centred on Africa, depictions of Friday change very little over the course of the century. Friday, who is from one of the nearby islands in the South Pacific, is shown as slow-witted, but teachable and fiercely loyal to his 'saviour' Crusoe. He

also adopts Christianity willingly and quickly. Most crucially, his loyalty takes the form of servitude; he never even hints at the desire to be Crusoe's equal, and certainly never attempts to teach him anything – despite the fact that as a local man, he should understand far better than Crusoe how best to survive on one of these islands.

Some examples quickly establish the continuity in how Friday is represented. For example, in J. Kendrew's 1810 chapbook, readers are told that Friday

> ever proved faithful; and I learnt the story of his life by tokens. He soon understood my language, and worked at any thing I desired him […] In short, he became at last so sensible, that I taught him the knowledge of God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and described to him the religion, customs, and manners of other countries; and I verily believe, the riches of the universe would not have tempted him to desert me (9).

Some six or seven decades later, Cassell's toy book version of the story reads as such:

> His faithful Friday went with him;
> His Friday true and kind,
> Who loved him more than all on earth,
> He would not leave behind. (n.p.)

Rather than becoming harsher or more critical, the way in which Friday is depicted remains focussed on his loyalty, his love, and his subservience. In neither version does he become wicked or rebellious. While one reason for this is that both versions retain their links to the original novel, it is more the effect than the justification that is striking. Friday does not change. Thus in popular retellings of one of the most well-known books of the century, 'natives' continue to be portrayed as innocent and devoted well after the mid-century. The likelihood of high numbers of these retellings being printed renders this consistency even more significant. However much portrayals of Africa may have changed in canonical fiction, these desert island

motifs are represented with incredible consistency. In cheap retellings of *Robinson Crusoe* Friday, as a representative of the South Pacific, is still depicted in the same way as he was even before the beginning of the nineteenth century.

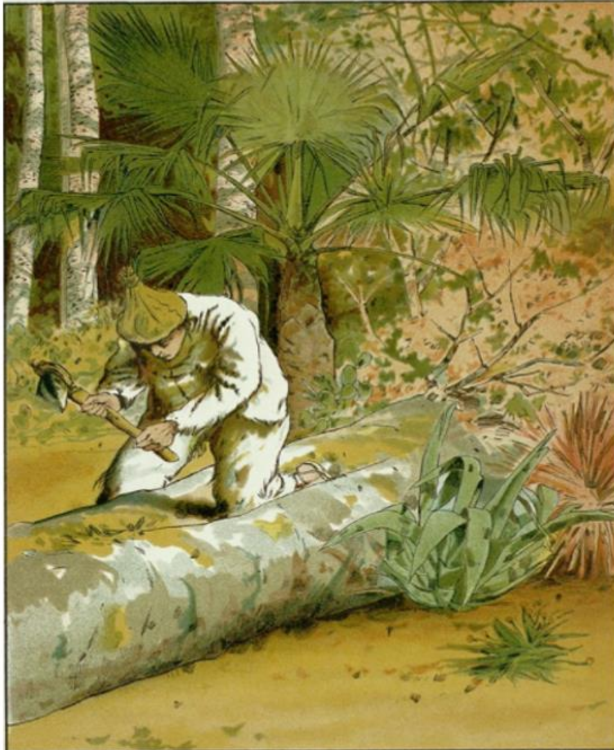


Figure 4.5: Image of *Robinson Crusoe: His Life and Adventures* (SPCK, 1886, no price given), p. 23. Showing illustration of Robinson Crusoe cutting wood.

Friday is not the only feature of these retellings whose consistency of representation is worthy of note. In keeping with the original novel, one of the main features of abridged versions of *Crusoe* is the natural beauty of the island. The use of the natural world abroad within adventure fiction and children's books with an interest in scientific explanations has been extensively explored. It is generally agreed that one of the appeals of a text set outside of Britain is the foreignness not only of the people but of the landscape. Nature in these books was also increasingly used to reinforce lessons about evolution from the 1860s onwards. Indeed, Michelle Ellerary's examination of scientific articles for children after the publication of *The Coral Island: A Tale of the Pacific Ocean* (1857) explains this fascination:

> The account of 'How Islands are Formed' does not stop at framing science within Christianity; it also presumes European colonisation settlement of such islands as the natural order of things. Asking the reader, 'who is to be the gardener, and to plant the top of the mountain, or rather, the island?', the article overlooks the Pacific Islanders whom Europeans found settled across the expanse of the South Pacific, proffering

instead a 'shipwrecked boat's crew...or a discovery ship' as precursors of the Europeans to come. (227)

These lessons were not limited to non-fictional children's texts, but can also be found extensively in tales of shipwrecks and deserted islands. Indeed, these stories were key to asserting the place of Europeans as the bringers of order and progress to these places in the cultural imagination. However, achieving this within retellings of *Robinson Crusoe* is often difficult: after all, he leaves the island in the end to return home. Indeed, in the SPCK and E. & J.B. Young & Co.'s *Robinson Crusoe: His Life and Adventures*, the illustrations never seem to show any progress at all in the domestication of the island. Instead, scenes such as Figure 4.5, showing strange exotic fauna that create an unfamiliarity and an exciting distance between the island and British readers' own experience, are interspersed with illustrations such as that in Figure 4.6, which shows goats passing Crusoe in a forest.

There is a passage within the original text that discusses these goats, which are animals that would be recognisable to British readers rather than exotic. Such a link connects the story

Figure 4.6: Image of *Robinson Crusoe: His Life and Adventures* (SPCK, 1886, no price given), p. 14. Showing illustration of Robinson Crusoe with goats.

back to the familiar through an animal that can be found in the English countryside. So while it would be too far to suggest that the goats make the island seem to being made English, their appearance also means that it is not merely exotic either. Crucially, however, Crusoe does not bring the goats to the island, but rather discovers them already existing there. Thus, the island contains elements of the familiar on Crusoe's arrival. If Crusoe is supposed to be the gardener bringing progress to the island, shown through the gradual addition of familiar British things, he is thus arguably not carrying his work out particularly well, because these familiar animals had been there from the start and do not require his intervention. This is interesting in that it suggests that in these cheap, popular retellings of *Crusoe*, the possibility that places abroad did not necessarily directly benefit from the arrival of Europeans existed long before the rise of less self-confident novels such as the works of Haggard and Conrad.

This marriage of the exotic and the familiar matches the pattern of the retellings in the corpus well. While O'Malley briefly mentions that 'the disenchanting of the world ushered in by the Enlightenment necessitated an infantilising devaluation and domestication of the sense of wonder associated with a pre-rational past', it seems worth examining more closely the strange consistency of this 'adventure' trope (10). The repetition of the same themes and ideas told through a single story implies something at work beyond the desire to associate wonder with childhood or the working classes. The supposed existence of these desert islands both feeds the ideal of conquering and taking over without concern for the lives of any native people who might already be there and makes the world feel vast and strange, with opportunities to be the first person to find or discover things. But it also makes the world feel empty, and in places where there are no people, ethical concerns around ruling over or taking from native people are essentially erased.

More interesting, however, is the element of predictability in these retellings. They have the tropes and characteristics of an unpredictable, dangerous adventure, but in truth readers

know even before opening the book almost exactly what is going to happen, and in which order the events will occur. The result is that while the world may be a place for exciting exploration, such adventures are predictable and, most importantly, *safe*. Despite the jeopardy within the adventures themselves, there is never any real danger of the unknown in these stories; it is all just an illusion – albeit one that leaves an indelible image of a certain kind of place and people. This is particularly important in these cheap texts, as less affluent readers were unlikely to have any way of directly verifying the truth of what they were reading: they were not likely to ever see these places themselves. As such, the image created in these texts of these places is the one that the vast majority of children would have primary access to, and would believe was the truth, no matter how distorted the picture actually is.

However, desert islands are not the only places outside of Britain that feature in the corpus. European nations are represented in a wide range of genres across the century, with specific references made to France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. Examples of these works include *Grandmamma Easy's Travels of Matty Macaroni the Little Organ-Boy* (Dean and Co., c. 1831-1840, 8 pages, priced at sixpence), a nonsense rhyme about travelling in which each page showcases a different city; *Abroad* (Marcus Ward and Co., c. 1881-1890, 56 pages, no price given), a companion book to *London* and a poem describing being a tourist in France with coloured illustrations on every page; *Hector the Dog* (Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1861-1870, 16 pages, no price given), a poem about a man travelling through the mountains to get home for Christmas who gets caught in a storm and is rescued by a dog owned by a company of monks; and the second tale in the three story collection *My Coloured Picture Story Book* (RTS, c. 1881-1890, 76 pages, no price given), in which a Swiss boy goes up into the mountains and is attacked by a bear and is saved by the family dog. This selection reflects the variety of works that are set outside of Britain, but it should be noted that these texts rarely display moments of cultural or even linguistic barriers. The setting holds relevance to the plot – travelling, or the

existence of dangerous mountains or bears that are either not found in England or are generally less perilous – but the people and the culture of other lands hold no sway: only the physical or natural world. This contrasts hugely with portrayals of non-white cultures, where nature may play a part in the story but the presentation of the cultures and people are often central. Brantlinger, for instance, notes that in terms of representing Africa, there are clear changes across the century: noble but also innocent or '"simple" savages' in the beginning of the century, which are later replaced with fears of cannibalism, cruelty, and a complete refusal in the main to acknowledge that there was any form of complex organised culture on the continent of Africa at all ('Victorians and Africans' 170 and 184, *Dark Vanishings* 89-90). The difference between the constant focus on the differences between British and African people compared to the lack of interest in any kind of European culture, language, or society outside of the occasional text on the French Revolution (*The Victory Series: The Coral Necklace* being the most notable) deserves consideration. Certainly in a simple binary this makes sense: examine the other while not bothering to explore those who are similar to you, as they are already known. This does not mean, however, that other European nationalities were considered the 'same' as the English – indeed, as the examples below indicate, they were also subjected to heavy stereotyping as something clearly Other. As such, the answer more likely lies in the fact that spending time exploring these cultures and languages runs the risk of acknowledging their equality – and thus bringing into question the British right to fight these other powers in order to gain control of other non-white places elsewhere.

One example of how these images of European places changed over time lies in the way each country is described or illustrated in travel tales and educational works.[9] For instance, *Capitals of Europe*, published by J. S Publishing and Stationary Co. in the 1850s, no price

[9]with the exception of France, most likely because of the ongoing Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the century.

Figure 4.7: Image of *Capitals of Europe* (J. S. Publishing Co., c. 185-, no price given), p. 7. Showing rhyme and coloured woodcut for 'Berlin'.

given, paper bound with 12 pages, illustrates this issue. Each capital and its corresponding country makes use of blatant stereotyping: Constantinople is an enemy of Christians (3); Paris is witty and gay (4); Spain is haughty (6); Prussians are warlike (7); Amsterdam is focussed on commerce (9); and Russia only recently discovered the arts (10). A clear image is created of each different culture and people in just the four lines of rhyme dedicated to a given country: there is no room for elaboration, but also none for argument or exceptions. All of this aligns with the conclusions reached by examining these texts through the lens of imagology as discussed earlier, and as will now be demonstrated.

The existence of stereotypical images of specific places is not limited to European nations or deserted islands, however, and one of the most prolific examples is in popular representations of the Middle East, an area which is regularly represented in texts of all kinds throughout the nineteenth century. In the corpus, titles include *Old Style Series: Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* (A. Guthrie, c. 1864-1892, 20 pages, no price given) and *The Victoria Tales and Stories: Lost in the Lebanon* (written by Charlotte Yonge, Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1870, 16 pages, sold for one penny). Although several of scriptural tales were covered in Chapter 3, and the traditional tales will be explored in the next chapter, it is worth

acknowledging these texts here because their pervasiveness and consistency contribute to understanding how the Middle East was represented to children in cheap, popular printed materials. For instance, the examples above give the sense of a long and distinguished cultural history in contrast to the sense that other non-European places are 'primitive' and 'without culture'. That very sense of history itself is problematic here, however: all but two texts featuring the Middle East (one of which is specifically set in the Lebanon, not the Middle East as a whole) explore fictional, historical, or Biblical settings – not the Middle East in the contemporary day.

One such example is *The Little Hunchback: from The Arabian Nights Entertainment: in Three Cantos*, published in verse by J. Harris in 1817, with 31 pages, no price given, paper covers, and three black and white full page illustrations. A retelling of one of the *Arabian Nights* stories, in this tale a hunchback chokes on a fishbone while visiting a tailor and his wife. Through a series of ridiculous misadventures, they, a Jewish doctor, a 'Musselman' (Muslim) neighbour, and a Christian merchant all believe that they have killed the hunchback: the doctor knocks the body down the stairs and hides him in his neighbour's chimney, the neighbour beats him thinking he is a thief and hides him propped up on the street, and the merchant beats him in the street believing

Figure 4.8: Image of *The Little Hunchback, from the Arabian Nights Entertainments: in Three Cantos* (J. Harris, 1817, no price given), p. 5. Showing illustration of the Tailor and his wife carrying the hunchback to the doctor's house.

that he is attacking him. The merchant is taken to be tried by the guards, and when he is sentenced to death, the neighbour, then the doctor, then the tailor, all confess to the crime. The Sultan discovers that the one killed was his court Jester and calls for his body to be brought to him, and a barber in the crowd pries open his teeth to remove the fishbone, reviving the hunchback. Aside from the notable use of the three major monotheistic religions here, a feature of the original fairy tale, with little differentiation made between them, this tale is presented as the same kind of timeless nonsense as many traditional English nursery rhymes. The imagological significance of this choice is unmistakable: the Middle East is connected to age, history, and fairy tale-like mysticism. It is not associated with real history or anchored in the realities of the modern day. The timelessness of the tale is unmissable. Like all fairy tales, it exists not in a definitive place or time period, but rather is set in some hazy version of the past that could have been three or seven hundred years ago. All of the characters – tailors, doctor, neighbour, merchant, Judge, Sultan, and Jester – could have existed at any time in several centuries. The illustrations, too, though they give a clear sense of place in that they show typical costumes associated with the Middle East, they are not from any definite time in history. Figure 4.8, for example, shows the tailor and his wife carrying the hunchback to the doctor, but there is nothing in the room to give a sense of time: it is completely unfurnished and plain. Their costumes are clearly supposed to indicate that they are 'Turks', as the text calls them, but no further information is offered. The very first line of the text offers a specific geographical location, stating that 'From the borders of Tartary not far removed, / A Taylor once lived with his wife whom he loved' (3). But despite this, the lack of anything specifying a time period, along with the nonsensical nature of the rhyme, gives the story the same sense of timelessness that is characteristic of European fairy tales, and thus presents an image of the Middle East as a mystic place, outside of modern history.

It is not only traditional Arabian tales that create a sense of the Middle East being old, but somehow also timeless. The same feeling is present in *The Voyages and Adventures of La Perouse: to which is added, The Life of Hatem-Tai; or, The Generosity of an Arabian Prince*. Printed in 1829 and priced at sixpence, this text was published by Bysh in London with 36 pages, and includes three pages of black and white illustrations, all for the first story rather than Hatem-Tai. La Perouse, who was a real historical figure and a French explorer of the South Pacific in the eighteenth century, takes up the majority of the text, with only the last five pages dedicated to Hatem-Tai. Hatem-Tai is also a real historical figure, and the text explains that he was famed for his generosity, to the point where two separate rulers, one from Damascus and one from Constantinople, test the limits of it and are left astounded. The king of Arabia, however, grows jealous of Hatem-Tai's renown. The narrator records that

> Numan, king of the Happy Arabia, conceived a violent jealousy against him. ---"Is it possible," cried he, "that an Arab, who has neither sceptre nor crown, and who wanders about in the deserts, should be compared with me?" His jealousy continually increasing, he believed it easier to destroy than surpass him. (34)

The king sends a courtier to kill Hatem, but on the way he is met by a kind man who offers him food and shelter. The courtier tells him his aim, and the man reveals himself to be Hatem, ripping his clothes so that the courtier could strike his heart directly. Realising his crime, the courtier refuses, and when he tells his king what happened, the king acknowledges Hatem's superiority. Like *The Little Hunchback*, there is a clear sense of place: countries are named (Arabia, Damascus, and Constantinople are all mentioned), but it is simply set in a hazy 'past', with no indications of when precisely the events took place. Where it is obvious that La Perouse lived in the eighteenth century, the fact that the historical Hatem-Tai died in 578AD is given no indication in the text at all. The result is a sense that the Middle East does indeed have a history, but that that history has no real markers or indicators as to when exactly events took

place. This fits with the existing image of the Middle East, fed by translations and rewritings of *The Arabian Nights*, as an ancient and mysterious place, and so furthers the stereotypes surrounding it. Despite being about a real figure, the sense of time within this text feels very similar to the retelling of *The Little Hunchback*: fairy-tale, and not really necessary to understanding the events in the text at all.

In the end, although there are a number of religious periodicals that discuss modern-day Jerusalem, the single-story texts offer little to give the area a sense of being part of the modern world. The Middle East exists in a non-specific past and in fantastical stories, giving the area a sense of 'unrealness'. Brantlinger argues that

> [t]he East, and particularly the Near East, was for British writers pre-eminently a land of romance, evoking responses often based as much on *The Arabian Nights* as on contemporary information (136)

It seems safe to claim that this is true not only for adult novels, but also for cheap children's texts. In these titles, not only the retellings of *The Arabian Nights*, but also texts examining real history, the Middle East is presented as an idea of the past, rather than a real place. There is one exception, from *The Victoria Tales and Stories*, with a story about a refugee in the Lebanon, but as a general pattern, the Middle East is presented as something that is ancient, rather than relevant in the modern day.

Conclusion

Cheap print for children printed in Britain across the nineteenth century presents stereotypes about foreign places and people that were remarkably resistant to change. While few of these texts could necessarily be considered 'patriotic' on the surface in that none of them either extols the military conquering and ruling of foreign nations or reflects the kinds of writing about the

Empire associated with the end of the century within canonical children's fiction, they nevertheless encourage British missionary work and exploration on behalf of the nation. What is particularly interesting about the nineteenth-century map of the world as seen through the corpus is how consistent it is, even as ideas of Britain and Britain's place in that world changed. Brantlinger's claim that there was a clear shift in the ways in which places abroad, particularly Africa, are shown in texts for children, represents the dominant view of the period. However, in these cheaper texts, each part of the map of the world had a specific set of conventions and images associated with it that remained relatively unchanged throughout the period. Desert islands are places of natural danger and beauty to be conquered or endured; Western Europe is a place of culture and commerce; and the Middle East is a place of ancient mystery. India, meanwhile, was presented within Type A texts with great consistency, through parable-like tracts and missionary propaganda. The strength of these recurring national images is evident in their continued use and impact even when the century drew to a close.

Chapter 5. Fantasy and the Fantastical

> There was the Fairy Primrose in a gown of pale yellow, and Cowslip, who wore a robe of the same colour, but of a deeper shade. There was the graceful Bluebell, and the wild Anemone, the delicate Wood-sorrel, and the Yellow Kingcup. The Fairy Bluebell wore a robe the colour of the sky on a calm summer's day, Anemone and Wood-sorrel were clad in pure white, while Kingcup wore a gown of bright amber.
>
> (*How the Fairy Violet Lost and Won Her Wings* 4)

Fantastic, impossible, and imaginary things have abounded in stories for as long as humans have been able to tell them. Some of these stories are told to teach specific lessons, some are used to warn, some to offer escapism and comfort. But they all stand out from what nineteenth-century critics would have called 'rational' fiction because of their preoccupation with things that do not exist, such as in the long descriptions of the different flower fairies offered in *How the Fairy Violet Lost and Won her Wings*. Anthropomorphic tales have historically often been connected with didacticism because of their origin in fables. In contrast, most fairy tales and fantasy novels fantasy novels are associated with imagination and amusement rather than didacticism, although many contain moral and religious elements even if they are not focussed primarily on a single overtly stated lesson for the child reader in keeping with types A and B texts. With the fantastical thus associated with a variety of different styles and expectations, understanding this element of children's literature provides another piece of the overarching history of children's print.

Earlier chapters have already examined a number of different areas of cheap children's print. Chapter 2 established that cheap religious fiction continued to be produced across the entire century, and that it was printed for both moral aims and for profit. Chapter 3 examined

the ways in which the tropes employed in domestic fiction, while similar to those used in more expensive children's novels, functioned very differently in cheaper texts intended for and consumed by a poorer readership. In Chapter 4, a study of the ways in which cheap children's print represented the wider world, revealed that much of that world was presented as a blank, but the parts that were discussed had clear characteristics and stereotypes strongly associated with them. But all of these works share the distinction of attempting to represent the 'real' world in some form or another: they are meant to be understood as at least partial reflections of reality, or at least of things that could conceivably be real. In this final chapter, I move away from realism to examine those works that attempt to explore the world through the fantastical and the fairy tale.

To round off this study, I argue that within cheap children's publishing there was no equivalent to the rise of fantasy that has been observed in mainstream children's texts, many of which have now become canonical. I demonstrate that the authors and texts now commonly associated with the rise of fantasy fiction were not available to the vast majority of child readers who depended on cheaper works and were thus denied access to the kinds of fantasies read by wealthier children. As a consequence, it is necessary to move away from just the works that have previously been a focus of various critical studies, and instead explore how fantastical story elements (fairies, ogres, giants, magic, alternate worlds, and other such ideas) were utilised in different genres of cheap children's texts in the nineteenth century. This perspective brings to light a new understanding of the range of ways in which children were exposed to 'unreal' or fantastical components throughout the century, revealing that cheap fantasy was far more strongly associated with moral didacticism than its more expensive novel counterparts. I will demonstrate that the number of cheap children's texts that could be called 'original fantasies' (by which I am referring to works that are neither fairy tales nor retellings of older novels, but are complete stories that use classic fantastical elements as key parts of the tale,

such as fairies or magic) was comparatively small, and that within this selection of texts the didactic remained present for far longer than it did within costlier fantasy novels. For most of the century non-didactic fantastical texts and fairy tales co-existed with moral fairy tales and didactic fantasies. Ultimately I conclude that, in direct contrast to the ways in which histories of canonical fiction trace the development of fantasy for children, this approach reveals a remarkable stability across the nineteenth century in how these elements are represented and utilised within cheap children's fiction, with a move away from strong didactic elements within fantasy occurring only far later in the century. As with representations of abroad, there was a high degree of consistency in messaging and images used within the texts across the century. This stability means that the ideologies being advocated for in these cheap texts throughout the century remain remarkably consistent across the decades.

A Brief Overview of Children's Fantasy Novels

Children's fantasy in the nineteenth century has received considerable attention from historians of literature as part of, or indeed the driving force behind, the so-called 'Golden Age' of children's literature. Earlier critics, such as Mary Thwaite, claim that there is a clear separation between moral or instructional children's literature and literature intended primarily to entertain. According to Thwaite, the 'Golden Age' of children's literature took place in the second half of the nineteenth century and was characterised by texts that favoured imagination over didacticism, as evidenced by such things as the birth of the modern children's fantasy novel, especially Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865). She views the process of moving from the didactic to the entertaining as one that, while it began in the first half of the nineteenth century, found its culmination in the latter parts of the Victorian era:

> The child, at last, was put in the centre, and his need to wonder and laugh and dream and to live in a world of his own making was recognised. It was even given exaggerated importance in later Victorian times, when it could lead to over-fanciful and too preciously whimsical creations by less disciplined writers for the young. (82)

Thwaite is not here referring specifically to fantasy, but rather to the general move in children's fiction away from heavy didacticism. However, the decision to use fantastical elements itself is certainly an act that recognises the importance of the imagination within children's stories, and thus can safely be associated with the style of text that Thwaite is discussing. She does not, of course, count Lewis Carroll, George Macdonald, or Charles Kingsley amongst the 'less disciplined' writers. Rather, they stand as representations of the 'discovery' of children's developmental needs (a 'discovery' refuted by childhood historians such as Hugh Cunningham in his study *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* and Colin Heywood in *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*, who argue rather that childhood has always been at least partially a social construction, rather than unchanging state throughout history). And Thwaite is not alone in this assumption. Later critics have approached the question of 'instruction' versus 'imagination' with considerably greater nuance than some of their predecessors, but there remains a tendency towards viewing these two approaches as a binary within children's literature criticism. M. O. Grenby explains that such an approach

> subscribes to what Mitzi Myers calls the "whiggish" history of children's books, which characterises the history of children's literature as a struggle between "imaginative" writing, represented by the fairy tale, and more didactically driven, "rational" literature. (2)

Grenby is here discussing fairy tales from the earlier parts of the nineteenth century, but it is undeniable that the same observation applies to later fantasy texts. Indeed, despite continued attempts to nuance the discussion by critics such as Marah Gubar in *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature*, the binary of didacticism against imagination, with fantasy firmly in the latter category, remains enticing to both critics and historians. Patricia Demers, for example, titled her anthology *From Instruction to Delight: An Anthology of Children's Literature to 1850*. In it, she contends that children's books in the nineteenth century went through a gradual move away from didacticism that culminated in the 'Golden Age', with its interest in fantasy and adventure, after 1850. The assumed dichotomy between 'instruction' and 'delight', as well as the shift from one to another over time, is written into the very title of the anthology. However, despite being reprinted in 2004, this particular volume was originally produced in 1982, and thinking has changed in the decades since. More telling is Peter Hunt's assessment of religion in children's literature in his essay 'The Loss of the Father and the Loss of God in English-Language Children's Literature (1800-2000)', published in *Religion, Children's Literature and Modernity in Western Europe 1750-2000* (2005). He maintains that by the end of the twentieth century

> religion of all kinds has been virtually silenced in mainstream children's literature, and this has left both a philosophical and sociological void, perhaps uneasily filled by myth and fantasy. (295)

While Hunt is here referring to later texts, it is still revealing that 'myth and fantasy' are viewed as providing an 'uneasy' replacement for religion. The implication of such a statement is that religious didacticism of the kind that histories of children's literature associate with texts from the earlier parts of the nineteenth century has no place in fantasy novels. It must, however, be noted that while overt didacticism is absent from later canonical fantasies for children, as Hunt argues, there is no shortage of fantasy that uses religious metaphors, allegories, and symbolism.

Examples can be found in works ranging from those by Kingsley and Macdonald to C. S. Lewis and Philip Pullman. In the end, the difference lies more in how religious elements are presented rather than in whether they are present. The same can be said to apply to any kind of sermon or moralising that might make a text primarily 'instructive' (that is, any Type A or Type B texts as discussed in Chapter 2). None of the above critics would ever suggest that these more expensive works of children's fantasy do not contain some form of lesson or allegory, but rather that such elements are secondary to the 'delight' (both in terms of plot, character, and story elements, but also connected to the tone and narratorial attitude) with which these fantasy books are associated.

However, this style of fantasy was not available to everyone. For one thing, the circle of authors involved in creating such works was very limited. Histories of children's literature and explorations of children's fantasy almost invariably discuss the same small number of canonical examples: texts by Lewis Carroll, Charles Kingsley, George MacDonald, and Andrew Lang. Each of these authors has been examined extensively: Carroll by Peter Hunt (1994), and Michael Levy and Farah Mendlesohn (2016); Kingsley by Elaine Ostry (2003), Piers J. Hale (2013), and Jessica Straley (2007); MacDonald by Martin Dubois (2015), William Gray (2007), and Ruth Y. Jenkins (2004); and Lang by Nathan K. Hensley (2015) and Sara Hines (2010), to name just a few. But this small group of authors who, as Stephen Prickett points out, all 'knew each other personally – often as friends,' were all members of and writing for the wealthier middle classes (41). This middle-class focus means that these fully developed fantasy novels were far too expensive to be accessible to the majority of children. For example, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* about which numerous publishing histories have been compiled, had an original run of just 1,000 copies priced at 6s each (Jaques and Giddens 14-15). For context, Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf's study of *The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850* calculates that by 1850, a woman casual worker could expect to earn six

and a half pence per day, or about 3s 3d per week (432). Even though men earned considerably higher wages, as Humphries and Weisdorf also show (432), a copy of *Alice* would have cost two weeks of a working woman's wages – far more than could ever be afforded by families struggling to pay rent and keep food on the table. Even serialised fantasy novels such as Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* in *Macmillan's Magazine* and George MacDonald's stories in *Good Words for the Young*, were published in periodicals that cost 6d rather than the far cheaper 'penny dreadfuls' of later decades (Open University, 'Macmillan's Magazine'). This higher cost could not be absorbed week on week, or even month on month, by the vast majority of households in England. There was also little change in the prices of these texts during the nineteenth century. Rather, the cost of these novels remained high and print runs small for quite a considerable time, with Lewis Carroll in particular maintaining control over the publishing of his novels long after their initial publications (Jaques and Giddens, n.p.). This means there was not the same abundance of cheaper versions of the texts that less affluent children could access as with, for instance, copies of *Robinson Crusoe* or *Gulliver's Travels*.

It must therefore be concluded that these fantasy texts were not available to most children. Neither can understanding of the development of fantasy in the 'Golden Age' of children's literature and the role it played in emphasising imagination and enjoyment over instruction be applied beyond the small circle of authors and readers that had access to them. What, then, were these other children reading, and were their choices affected by the same trends as seen with canonical fantasy texts? This is not a simple question to answer, mostly because it is not easy to pin down exactly what is meant by the term 'fantasy'. One reason for this is that the term was not widely used by the writers themselves. Several nineteenth-century fantasy writers referred to their own creations as 'fairy tales' (Kingsley's *The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby*, for example). It is outside the scope of this thesis to cover the history and breadth of criticism surrounding the definition of *fantasy*, and, in any case,

considerable work has been done in this area by critics like Rosemary Jackson in her *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (1981). The difficulty, as these critics recognise, is that there is no clear boundary between a work of fantasy and a text that contains fantastical elements. There are, however, some similarities shared by most fantasy novels, one being Eilers's suggestion discussed above that fantasy privileges enjoyment over instruction. Eilers also contends that another trend is a tendency towards rounded characters:

> One significant indication of the first novelists' break with pre-realist tradition was their practice of individualising their characters by giving them both proper names and surnames that sounded as if they could belong to contemporary people. The first modern fantasies also followed this pattern. (330)

So rounded characters in the style of realism and a movement away from didacticism became a feature of fantasy writing as much as realist literature. Mendlesohn's *Rhetorics of Fantasy* offers another method of examining the genre, suggesting that rather than viewing fantasy as conforming to a single absolute definition, it should be split into different types and categories, often based primarily on the narrative direction of the tale. She is not alone: almost every critic examining this area also cautions against any kind of prescriptive definition, arguing that one of the key characteristics of fantasy is how different every text is from the others. So while a loose framework is required, too strict a view of what constitutes fantasy is ultimately untenable.

Specifically in relation to cheap print for young working-class readers, fantasy can best be defined by what it is not. In such works, fantasy is not, for example, a fairy tale, nursery rhyme, myth, legend, or any other form of traditional story. It is also not a story that uses implausible or impossible scientific advancements, such as time travel machines. Rather, for the purposes of this discussion at least, the most useful definition of fantasy would be: original

texts that are not retelling any kind of traditional tale, have strong fantastical elements or include unreal things (such as fairies and ogres or alternate worlds), are usually grounded in a realistic style of prose, and offer multi-dimensional characters. For the sake of discovering which cheap texts constitute original fantasies in the corpus, I have also excluded all abridgements and retellings of canonical tales, including such texts as *Gulliver's Travels*, on the grounds that they are not 'original' fantasy tales.

Figure 5.1: Table showing Year and Category Types of Fantasy Texts in the Corpus

Title	Religion Type	Year
Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales: The Giant and the Dwarf; or, Strength and Reason	B	1857
Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales: The Giant Hands; or, The Reward of Industry	B	1857
Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales: The Selfish Man; or, The World's Teaching	B	1857
Eyebright: A Tale from Fairyland	B	1862
Flora's Feast	D	1889
How the Fairy Violet Lost and Won Her Wings	B	1872
The King of Root Valley and his Curious Daughter	B	1856
The Magic Ring	D	1884
The Poet and the Brook	D	1885

Figure 5.1 above shows the complete list of cheap texts in my corpus that match my definition of fantasy fiction. This includes some that are referred to in their titles as 'fairy tales' but which are nonetheless original works rather than retellings of traditional stories. Perhaps the most striking thing about this list is just how many of these texts are didactic. Didactic religious and moral texts (Types A and B), as examined in Chapter 2, are works that focus on teaching less affluent child readers a single stated moral lesson. For instance, Type C texts reference religious ideas through casual dialogue (characters mentioning going to Church, for example) or allegory (*The Water-Babies* would be such an example), and Type D texts are not didactic, containing no religious elements and no single overarching moral lesson. Given this,

the general belief amongst critics that canonical children's fantasy is associated first and foremost with 'delight' rather than 'instruction' would suggest that fantasy texts generally belong to Types C or D. As such, it is notable that two thirds of the cheap texts in my corpus are overtly didactic, with a strong moral lesson usually addressed directly to the reader. Even more striking is the fact that, just as with canonical fantasy fiction, the chart above clearly shows that all of these works of cheap fantasy were published in the second half of the nineteenth century. This means that the prevalence of didacticism in these tales is not merely a case of earlier didactic texts giving way to more 'entertaining' later fantasies. Rather, fantasy itself appears to be linked with didacticism within cheap children's publishing.

Most important, however, is just how short this list is. Out of a corpus of over 800 texts, fewer than 10 can be accurately defined as fantasy fiction. There are three possible reasons why this might be, and the truth is certainly a combination of both. The first is that I have simply not been able to find them: they may have been in different collections, not yet be catalogued or, as is the way with many cheap texts, simply were not preserved to begin with. The second is the expense for a publisher of commissioning an *original* work written for a less affluent readership. The vast majority of cheap texts are retellings of traditional stories, abridged versions of older canonical works, or fairy tales. Many cheap original works are moral or religious tales, like those discussed in previous chapters, and thus are often associated with particular churches or religious publishers who could help subsidise the costs of printing. It simply did not make economic sense for a publisher to hire an author to write an original story and then sell it at the same price as charged for recycled fairy tales and nursery rhymes. Any text requiring that kind of monetary investment was likely to be sold at a much higher price – as evidenced by the cost of canonical fantasy children's literature. The final reason is a concern over morally dubious texts. While canonical works for children may have become less concerned with didacticism and religion over the course of the nineteenth century, earlier

chapters of this thesis have shown that cheap fiction continued to be characterised by both moral didacticism and religious teachings for considerably longer. Thus, as those chapters have shown, the influence of earlier writers of popular and children's fiction such as Mary Martha Sherwood and Hannah More on understanding of what children's literature and literature for the poor should achieve continued to impact on cheap literature well into the century. This, coupled with rising fears over so-called 'penny dreadfuls', almost certainly combined to give publishers a strong incentive to steer away from producing cheap texts that emulated the more expensive fantasies in focussing on satire, riddle games, nonsense, and the fantastical without any clearly stated moral lesson. Such a stance would explain why the few fantasies that are available tend to fall into the didactic category, where their more expensive counterparts do not.

Early Nineteenth-Century Fantastical Tales

Examining texts that only fit within the parameters of what constitutes fantasy fiction does not offer a true picture of how fantasy elements were utilised within nineteenth-century cheap children's literature. Rather, there are a significant number of texts that, while not adhering to the definition of 'fantasy', contain fantastical characters, places, and events, such as a fairy appearing to grant a wish, or a character being forced to fight an ogre. Fairy tales, for example, while not fantasy fiction, almost invariably feature magic and mythical beings. This section will examine these fantastical texts, particularly those taking the form of the moral fairy tale, within cheap children's print in the first half of the nineteenth century, and interrogate the line and tension between the explicit didactic moral and the implied moral lessons of these texts.

Once again, however, how the parameters of such a discussion are defined must be addressed. For example, texts with 'wishes' granted by a human are not included. Neither are

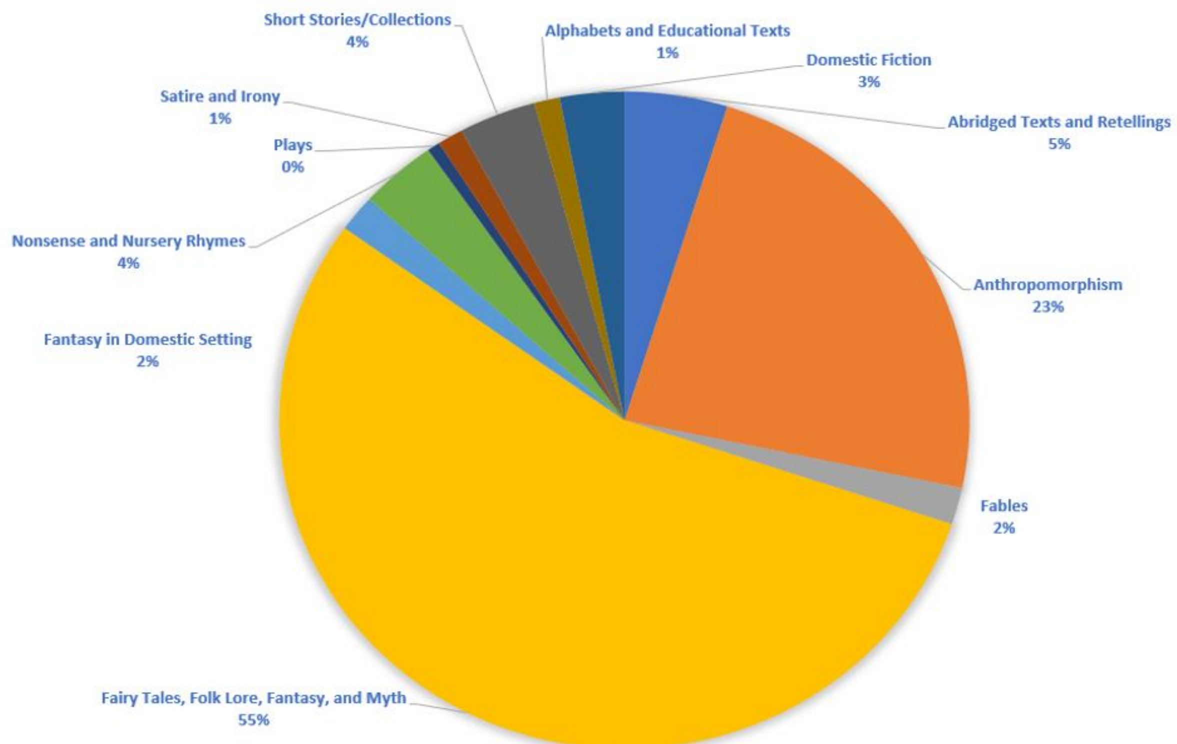
texts with seriously unlikely but not technically impossible events, such as *Tippoo the Tiger*, in which a tiger taken to Ireland escapes, and terrorises the neighbourhood. It does include anthropomorphic animals and objects, as talking animals and things are fantastical. Also included are stories about dreams. Dreams could be argued to not be fantastical, as anything can occur in a dream, but *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* itself is explained at the end as a dream, and thus such texts are clearly associated with the fantastical. Texts such as 'The Queen of Hearts' illustrated with animated or living cards are also not included, because the text itself does not contain any fantastic elements.

More interesting are the texts in which the title references fantasy elements, but the story itself does not contain any. There are three such texts in the corpus: two titles from the *Little Red Riding Hood; or, Some Account of Sally Evans* and *The Giant Killer* (1836 and 1837 respectively); and *Uncle Heart-Ease's New Series: The Three Useful Giants* (n.d., but later part of the century). The two RTS texts are moral stories, with *The Giant Killer* being a retelling of David and Goliath and Sally Evans being a good girl who learns her Bible and her neighbours love her so much they give her a red cloak and call her Red Riding Hood. *The Three Useful Giants* is an educational text, with the subtitle reading *Wind, Water, and Steam, and What They Do for Us*. None of these texts has been included because, despite their titles, the texts themselves do not contain fantastical elements. However, the existence of these texts, particularly in the 1830s, indicates that the RTS itself acknowledged that there was an advantage to enticing working-class child readers with fantastical ideas in their texts – even if it is just in the title. Numerous critics, including Samuel Pickering (1993), Nancy Cutt (1979), and Ian Haywood (2004), have argued that there was a great struggle within the publishing industry at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century between 'rational' works and the damaging chapbooks and cheap texts that Hannah More, for example, attempted to replace with more 'improving' literature. Kristen Drotner notes that the fight for dominance

between these two factions – the 'rational' and the 'infidel' – has often been the focus of criticism of texts from the 1780s to the 1830s, arguing that '[t]hese two reactions to popular literature for the young [fear for its corrupting influence versus a belief that casual entertainment causes little harm] continue to dominate research' (Drotner 7). But the existence of texts that use fantastical titles to draw readers in proves that even in the earlier parts of the century there was a belief that less affluent child readers were more likely to pick up a text with a title referencing fairy tales. It is therefore understandable that even within the RTS there was an acknowledgment that fairy tales and their tropes could be used to entice working-class child readers to read more morally acceptable works.

Having established the parameters, it is now possible to examine the texts containing fantastical elements. 20% of texts in the corpus contain fantastical elements. As such, the number of such texts is significant, totalling one fifth of the corpus. The smallest section includes those works discussed above that reference fantasy in the title but have none in the

Figure 5.2: Chart showing Genres of Texts in the Corpus Containing Fantastical Elements



text itself. There is a significant disparity between the percentage of texts containing fantastical elements, and the small number of genuine works of fantasy. Such a difference indicates that there was a high degree of flexibility in using fantastical elements, as they were not only present in one specific genre. Indeed, Figure 5.2 shows that fantastical elements were present across almost every genre. This graph takes into account only those texts with fantastical elements, and divides them by genre. In doing so, it shows how many different genres include texts with these elements. The most common category is, unsurprisingly, Fairy Tales, Folklore, Fantasy, and Myths: almost every fairy tale contains fantasy elements, as do a significant number of myths and folktales. Far more remarkable is just how many other genres are represented here. Almost every genre has at least a small number of texts that contain fantastical elements of some kind. This is significant, because it indicates that despite conventional arguments suggesting that there was a clear split between approved, moral texts for children that were 'rational' and thus shunned fantastical characters and events, and the texts focussed primarily on entertainment rather than instruction, there was not in fact any one genre which eschewed all elements that were not 'rational'. Rather, fantasy pervaded every aspect of cheap children's literature.

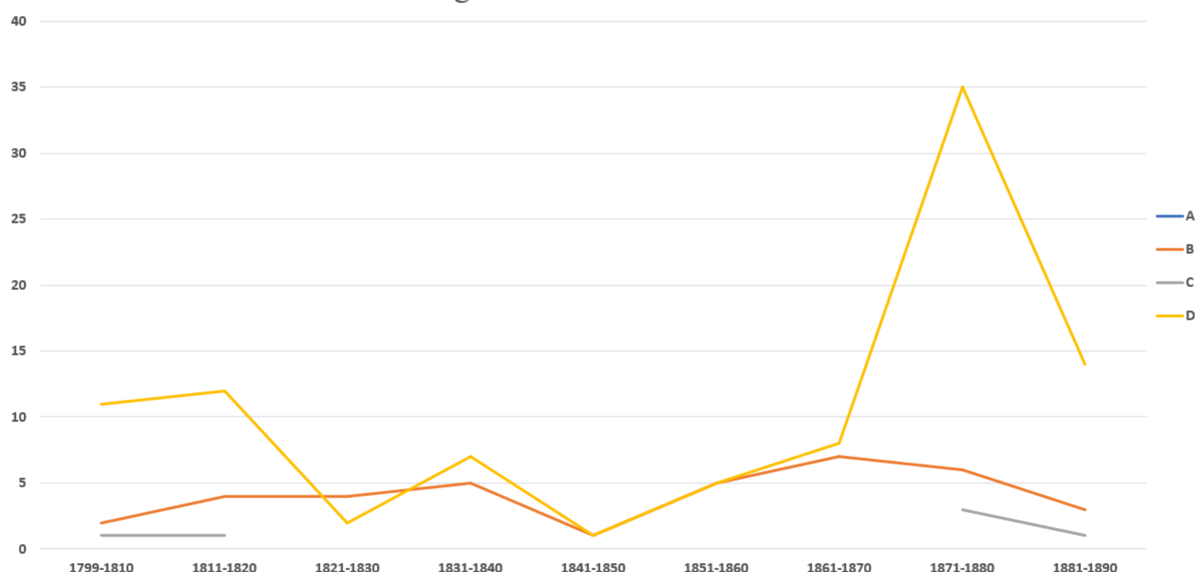
Furthermore, fatastical elements are present not only across multiple genres, but across different text Types. Using the categories laid out in the Introduction, Type A texts contain didactic religious elements, Type B contain a single didactic moral lesson, Type C contain religious references but no overarching religious lesson, and Type D contain none of the above. Type D is the most prevalent within cheap texts in my corpus containing fantastical elements. This is as expected, given that the majority of fairy tales across the century were Type D. However, there are still a considerable number of Type B texts. Not only that, but as Figure 5.3 shows, Type B texts containing fantastical elements continued to have a presence across the century, albeit almost always less so than Type D texts. This is especially significant given the

association of the fantastical with what Nancy Cutt calls 'infidel' texts, as these texts combine morality with these supposedly morally damaging tropes. Indeed, Cutt expresses clearly the separation between moral and Evangelical publishing and those works that were not considered appropriate:

> The adult backslider had no trouble finding a gaudy assortment of ballads, tales and romances in chapbooks (many extremely crude); lurid crimsheets; and, most sinister of all in the 1780's and 1790's, radical political pamphlets. All could be grouped together as "infidel publications"; against them, government and Evangelicals alike waged battle. (Cutt 14)

But while Cutt's comments may be correct in terms of the dialogue surrounding adult texts, in practice, it is clear that fantastical elements were being used within cheap children's literature to facilitate the teaching of moral lessons, rather than shunned for not being 'rational'. Thus, it must be concluded that when it came to what was actually being published, there was a degree of flexibility in what was considered to be acceptable in works published for children, at least as long as those elements of fantasy were being used to teach a moral lesson.

Figure 5.3: Chart showing Category Types of Texts in the Corpus Containing Fantastical Elements Over Time



One example of such a moral text is *The Rose: A Fairy Tale*, which has been examined in regards to its gender conversation in Chapter 3. Published in 1834 by Houlston and Son (price not known), this text is 30 pages long and contains six woodcut prints on relatively poor quality paper. In general, research surrounding these moral didactic works, such as that done by Nancy Cutt and Samuel F. J Pickering, tends to centre around the end of the eighteenth and very beginning of the nineteenth century, and following Mary Jackson's influential *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, a large amount of criticism on fantasy in general has been more concerned with the psychoanalytical implications of the text than with any overtly stated moral intent. However, as Figure 5.3 above shows, there are examples of didactic texts across the century, even when the discussion is limited to only those texts which contain fantastical elements. Indeed, analysing only those texts with fantastical elements that were published before the apparent 'advent of fantasy' in the 1860s, there are still a number of interesting examples, and *The Rose* offers one instance of how moral texts attempted to examine femininity. Despite its name, this is not a traditional fairy tale, but rather a tale which contains fairies. The story is told from the first person viewpoint of a woman who, unable to sleep, goes out into her garden one night and witnesses the Fairy Queen holding her annual court. The Queen asks each of the fairies to come forward to describe the work that they have carried out over the course of the year, promising that the most industrious will be rewarded. Numerous fairies describe painstakingly watching flowers, creating beautiful sunsets, and other works of art. The youngest fairy is then called, and tells of learning from her mother how to care for the sick and the poor, tend the wounded birds, and other such acts of charity. She insists that she herself is insignificant, stating clearly that

> I know but little, and can do little good. But I have a kind and sage parent, who teaches me, that, now, in my youthful days, I must seek every means of improvement, and implore from heaven, assistance in overcoming every evil and selfish feeling. (22)

The Queen expresses satisfaction and calls on Miranda, the fairy's mother, to give her own account. Once again, feminine humility and the duties of motherhood infuse every word of Miranda's response. She claims that

> my time is spent in training my children, as far as I am able, to wisdom and knowledge [...] I teach my daughters to love home, and to render themselves useful in retirement, rather than to seek admiration abroad: and it is my great desire that they should use the powers which they inherit, in doing good to others, rather than in pleasing themselves. Yet, what I have been able to do [...] is but little -- not worthy to be spoken of, but in obedience to the commands of your majesty. (25-26)

Here, the feminine – particularly the kind of feminine duties typically associated with wealthier middle-class women - is the centre of all attention. The Queen scolds the other fairies for failing to do any real good, focussing instead on creating idle beauty in places where it will never be seen. She then gives the reward to the younger fairy, telling her that the flower is yet only a bud, but that if she continues to obey her mother's teachings, it will bloom into the most beautiful flower. The female's presence and her duty as guide and teacher are inescapable. Indeed, as Karen Rowe points out, there was a great deal of anxiety around a lack of female presence in children's literature at the time. Rowe argues that

> [i]t is precisely the absence of matronly mediation and vigilant observation that provokes Sarah Trimmer to unleash a righteous fury against juvenile libraries that traffic in amusing tales, romances, and fables. (56)

This text can certainly be viewed as a response to that anxiety, as it insists throughout that female guidance – particularly a mother's teaching – is necessary for success. There is, in fact, not one male character in the story. The fairies, as ordinary female characters (there seem to be no differences in social rank between any of them except the Queen), are encouraged to tend

the sick, succour the poor, and do their duty without notice or reward. But the lesson is pulled up short by the very fact that the fairies' actions *are* noticed, and indeed are rewarded. The lesson thus sits fairly uncomfortably: it seems as though the overt didactic moral does not really fit with the representation of the text itself. The difficulty in teaching retiring femininity lies in the fact that in order to give instruction in it, it must be recognised. This means that the ideal of the retiring female is at odds with the need to emphasise that idea in order to teach it. The teaching method does not support the ideology itself.

A slightly different example in terms of the ways in which the fantastical elements of the text are utilised is in *The History of Abou Casem, and his Two Remarkable Slippers: and, The History of Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots*, published in c. 1825 and sold by I. Marsden at twopence. Abou Casem tells the story of a wealthy miser who accidentally wears the Cadi's slippers out of the bathhouse. He is thrown into jail, and his own damaged slippers (for he would not replace them because it was costly) are returned to him. He then ends up in a series of increasingly ridiculous scenarios as he attempts to get rid of the slippers, each one resulting in him being publicly humiliated and having to pay a fine or reparations to various characters. In the end, he loses all of his wealth and is left with a tattered reputation. The Cadi concludes the story by telling Abou Casem that he should simply have worn clothes fit for his original station in the first place, and the tale finishes thusly:

> He told Abou Casem at parting, that the original cause of all the misfortunes attending the slippers were [sic] now easily understood; extremes, said he, are ridiculous and unjustifiable; those slippers would have been perfectly in character when worn by the pitiable object that solicits support from house to house; but when a man, whom I believe was once esteemed the richest in the city, debases himself so as to become the proprietor of such filthy articles, I do not wonder at the many misfortunes attending him. (14-15)

What is particularly remarkable about this tale is not so much the ever-present focus on social class, but the fact that there are no magical or fantastical elements at play here. This is a complete contrast to the other story in the volume, *Puss in Boots*, a retelling of Charles Perrault's story about a talking cat who obtains a good life for his master through a series of tricks. The slippers, as the Cadi points out, are entirely mundane articles. There is nothing noteworthy about them, except in the way their bad state symbolises the bad character of Abou Casem. So why then is the fantastic employed in one story and not the other? The answer almost certainly lies in the difference between the two settings. As discussed in the previous chapter, a great deal of interest was shown towards foreign places within children's literature, and the setting was not only used as a form of escapism but as a way of teaching less affluent child readers about different parts of the world. When discussing missionary periodicals, for example, Felicity Jensz argues that

> [m]issionary periodicals with their mix of edifying material and accounts of cannibals and strange, bizarre heathen customs fed directly into the European and North American thirst for knowledge about the "other" and were seen as authoritative sources of information. (249)

Abou Casem is not a missionary text, and so it lacks the unquestioned authority described by Jensz. Even so, the story presents its version of the Middle East as a real place, if one that is unfamiliar and strange to young working-class readers. *Puss in Boots* approaches the fantastical in the same way: the talking cat – that is, the element of fantasy emplyed in the tale - is never really questioned, even if it is not something that readers would actually see themselves. Not only that, but it is understood that both stories are just that: stories, not meant to be understood as true in the way that missionary texts were viewed. The fantasy in *Puss in Boots* and the foreign elements in *Abou Casem* are thus effectively achieving the same aim: they are strange occurences that make the story intriguing, but ultimately do not distract readers from the moral

lesson of the tales that is being presented to them. Instead, the moral is simply explained as something that had already existed alongside these elements. The end result is that the Middle East itself is assciated with unrealistic elements that are outside of the ordinary in the same way as the fantastical. The underlying ideology thus by extension connects the Middle East to the unknown or unreal, and so by unspoken contrast establishes Britain as the standard for 'normal' against which all other places are measured.

Moralising Fairy Tales

There was, however, a far more prolific genre of fantastical didactic children's print in the first half of the nineteenth century, and this was the moral fairy tale. Matthew Grenby's essay 'Tame Fairies Make Good Teachers: The Popularity of Early British Fairy Tales' argues that criticisms of the period around the corrupting influence of fairy tales did not result in their disappearance from popular texts. Instead, '[t]he criticism that was levelled at the form forced a change in the kind of fairy tales that were written, but did not lead to even the temporary eradication of the genre' (18). However, the gap between approved moral texts and non-didactic fairy tales has not really been examined by critics in any detail. Grenby himself points out that

> it is beyond doubt that there was a sustained debate about fairy tales, and it is surely this that has given rise to the impression that there was a time when they were banished from polite literature. Very little research has asked why this argument should have been so vigorous (5)

Indeed, the assumption that types B and D texts are inherently different from one another in not only form but aim and execution forms the very basis for almost any discussion around moral children's literature or the Evangelical movement of the 1780s to the 1830s, as can be seen from the criticisms discussed in the earlier parts of this chapter. The assumption that one

of these types was consequently 'banished' due to its ineffectiveness and lack of morality requires closer examination.

It is certainly true that didactic texts are deliberately written so as to avoid being misinterpreted in the way that less direct narratives sometimes risk. Patrick C. Fleming's definition of the moral tale offers a succinct description of the purpose of such texts, with his assertion that 'Moral tales guide readers' interpretations, ensuring that child readers know how to navigate the narrative – that they know, in short, how to read the tale' (2). This distinction of 'guidance' is an important one, as no critic of children's literature would ever attempt to argue that there are children's books that only provide entertainment without offering criticism or approval of different behaviours and norms. Such an approach is made all the more significant in the face of Jack Zipes's argument that fairy tales in general inherently possess their own form of morals. Zipes argues that,

> it is not only compensation for poverty or lack that people sought in ritual and narratives about goddesses, witches, and fairies. They were not only initiation tales. There was a deep desire for another, more just and beautiful world that formed the moral basis of secular fairy tales. (76)

As such, he states, fairy tales actually provide a place not where moral lessons are thrown out in favour of entertainment, but rather where a reader can experience a world in which good inevitably triumphs over evil. Indeed, Zipes argues,

> Fairy tales originated and derived from wish fulfilment coupled with a desire for other moral worlds. They had always been told, serving to compensate for the impoverished lives and desperate struggles of many people. (155)

Such an argument would indicate that in addition to offering hope to the poor that a better life exists beyond this world, non-didactic fairy tale texts, also contain their own set of morals. This

makes sense: stories where virtuous and kind people triumph and the tragic heroine or brave hero escapes a bad situation and finds a good (and probably wealthy) home have always maintained an enduring popularity. The question then becomes: do didactic and non-didactic fairy tales in cheap literature for children exhibit the *same* moral lessons, albeit with one relying on didactic explanations, or is there a difference in what they present to working-class child readers? In short, is there really a gap between *what* the texts were teaching, or is it only in *how* the lessons were given, and to *whom* they were directed? This section argues that even within moral texts themselves, deliberately designed to be impossible to misinterpret, a tension between the implied and explicit morals clearly existed within these fairy tale texts.

A typical example of an earlier didactic moral fairy tale is an 1807 chapbook version of Tabart's *The History of Jack and the Bean-Stalk,* sold at sixpence. Tabart's texts have been examined before, but as they are sold cheaply, they are part of the conversation around cheap children's literature. The narrator of this particular text manages to cover almost every one of the ideals for how a good gentleman should behave in a fairy's description of Jack's father. The fairy explains that

> Your father was a rich man, and his disposition remarkably benevolent; he was very good to the poor, and constantly relieving them; he made it a rule never to let a day pass without doing a kindness to some person. On one particular day in the week he kept open house, and invited only those who were reduced and had lived well. He always resided himself, and did all in his power to render his guests comfortable; the rich and the great were not invited. The servants were all happy, and greatly attached to their master. Your father, though only a private gentleman, was as rich as a prince, and he deserved all he possessed, for he only lived to do good. (9)

Jack's father is good, kind to the poor, well mannered, gentle towards servants, benevolent, and an excellent host. Most significantly for this story, however, he is also wealthy. In this version of the tale, the Giant stole all of Jack's family's wealth, and his fight against the Giant is framed not only as an act of justice, but as Jack carrying out his filial duty to both his father and his long-suffering mother. This backstory eliminates the uneasy moral questions raised around Jack killing a Giant for his possessions, and establishes him as being 'different' from other working class boys raised in poverty. Whereas Andrew O'Malley argues older chapbooks retain a 'lottery mentality', moral texts insist that any character who is rewarded at the end must be so through their personal virtue – and, preferably, because they are in fact reclaiming a place in society that should have been theirs from the beginning. Cutt concludes that '[i]t is notable that the hero of the tract tale throughout the century is always exceptional: *someone* has taught him morals, or brought him up better than the average' (41). However, in many texts it is not only that the central child character has been raised well, but also that they were born into the higher classes. Cinderella, for example, is denied her rightful heritage by her stepmother, and Snow White and Sleeping Beauty are both born into royalty. As such, typical examples of moral texts in the early nineteenth century containing fantasy elements maintain immovable strictures around social class, including gentlemanliness (or femininity), as well as the need for characters to be deserving of their ending. This means that the ideology being established by these texts is one which appears on the surface to be merit-based, but in fact favours middle-class heritage above any other. Once again, the advantage to the middle-class producers in advocating for such an ideal is obvious: in these stories, they encourage submissive and retiring behaviours by claiming that it will aid the working-class child reader, while in reality only those that are already members of the middle- or upper-classes ever benefit at all.

However, in order to examine the moral fairy tale in closer detail, a case study of different retellings of one specific fairy tale offers the best opportunity for clear comparisons. One of the most frequently retold stories is *Cinderella*, which maintained a high level of popularity throughout the nineteenth century. There were not a great number of Type D *Cinderella* texts in the first half of the century, but one of the exceptions is *Tabart's Improved Edition of Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper: with Coloured Plates* (1807, price sixpence). This version contains none of the moments of didacticism present in other versions of the story printed around the same time, but still the text does not fail to get across to the reader the rudeness of Cinderella's stepsisters, and her own patience and gentleness with them. For example, Cinderella at one point begs one of the sisters to lend her an everyday dress so that she could see the Queen, and is met with derision:

> 'Dear Miss Charlotte, lend me only the yellow gown you wear every day, and let me go to see her." "Oh! yes, I warrant you! Lend my clothes to a Cinder-breech! Do you really suppose me such a fool? No, no; pray, Miss Pert, mind your own business, and leave dresses and balls to your betters.' (25-26)

Cinderella's response to this is relief, as she has already spoken to the fairy godmother and would not know 'what to do' if Charlotte had agreed to help. This means that in asking Charlotte anyway, she is offering her an opportunity to do good despite not technically needing her help. Cinderella then accepts Charlotte's strictures meekly and silently, without protest. By contrast, Charlotte is rude and sharp, using impolite names and slang – 'Cinder-breech' and 'Miss Pert' – and refers to herself and her sister as being Cinderella's betters despite their equal status as sisters by law. The Prince then recognises Cinderella's virtuousness, and marries her. Although it is never stated, the lesson is obvious: the good, polite, patient Cinderella finds happiness, and her rude stepsisters do not. The ideology being promoted is evident: being good and polite is the better choice, and if the world has any form of justice to it, those people will

win their happy ending. The fact that the story does end happily thus supports the belief that the behavioural ideals displayed are in fact just themselves, because they result in the good characters winning their happiness.

That lesson echoes back through the Type D retellings of *Cinderella* across the nineteenth century, maintaining the same basic principles even in the 1870s and 1880s. For instance, there is a particularly interesting later example in *Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books* (1880). This variant is a Type D text, evident in such paratextual details as Aunt Louisa's name, which was associated with a number of Sunday School books and Bible story retellings. This version acts as evidence that by this point in the century at least, there was not the same divide between approved texts and unapproved ones, and that there was a degree of faith even in more conservative circles in child readers' ability to parse out a moral lesson without needing the narrator to spell it for them. The opening illustration provides some of the direction of the story. Once again, Cinderella is directly contrasted with her stepsisters. She is shown in plain clothes, with a calm expression, helping to dress the hair of one sister while the other appears, from her hand's gesture, to be giving direction. The other two girls appear displeased, with sour expressions, and one has her chin in the air. Immediately, it is obvious who is the 'better' character, and which characters are discontented and haughty. The difference between them is then expounded in the text. The arrival of Cinderella at the ball is described thus:

Figure 5.4: Image of *Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Cinderella* (Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1880, 1s or 2s mounted), p. 3. Shows illustration of Cinderella helping her stepsisters prepare for the ball.

Fairest of all the beauties of the ball-room

Was Cinderella, innocent and bright;

The Royal Prince would choose no other partner;

The courtiers, smiling, said His Grace was right.

The King and Queen, seated in lofty grandeur,

Were by her kind, sweet smile at once entranced;

Her sisters did not recognise Cind'rella

As with sore envy at her face they glanced. (n.p.)

Once again, Cinderella is described as 'kind', 'sweet', and 'innocent', and while there is no moralising narrator, it is clear that it is these traits that won over both the Prince and his parents. Her stepsisters, by comparison, are envious and unhappy. The lesson is essentially identical to the one offered in Tabart's version of the story: Cinderella is virtuous and patient and good, so she marries well. The stepsisters are rude and envious, so they do not.

Contrasting these texts to the Type B versions of *Cinderella* shows that while the moral is more clearly stated, there is little difference in what the texts attempt to teach. For example, Orlando Hodgson's *The History of Cinderella and her Glass Slipper*, concludes by stating that Cinderella proves that good temper is the greatest virtue of all, and one that the child reader should strive for. The text, published around 1835, is 36 pages, priced at sixpence, and has no illustrations. In it, the narrator explains:

> Now, it may reasonably be hoped that, although the little men and women who may read this will laugh at the strange feats of the fairy, yet they will recollect and profit by the more sensible parts of this short narrative,-- above all, let them bear in mind that good temper is a jewel of inestimable value; that, like the diamond, it shines

> resplendently by its own intrinsic lustre; that, like the sun, it cheers us through every stage of life, and nourishes every virtue that can adorn human nature; that it is a never-failing fund, which, like the widow's cruse, draw upon it as often as we may, knows no diminution, because it still replenishes itself. (6)

This stated moral at first appears to be a little different from those in other Type D texts because, while it agrees that Cinderella received happiness as a reward for her goodness, it also connects that lesson to a religious one through a reference to the story of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath. The moral is thus more involved: ignore the fairy in the tale, and instead ask God to help you to develop a good temper that overflows like 'a never-failing fund'. But the religious element is not didactically examined in the same way as the moral one, and so the spoken moral is confined to the same secular teachings as are present in the Type D texts. In this way, the didactic moral here almost perfectly mirrors the implied moral lessons in the previous examples.

Hodgson's version provides a fairly typical example of Type B retellings of *Cinderella*, but there is also one publication that demonstrates one of the possible flaws of didactic moral lessons within fantasy texts. W. Savage's c. 1820 retelling, *Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper* attempts to offer the same moral lesson as all of the texts above, stating that

> obedience to parents and sweetness of manners will always gain them the respect and esteem of the virtuous; while ill nature and disobedience will never fail to meet with contempt and reprobation'. (32-33)

However, the story itself does not demonstrate this. After Cinderella's marriage to the Prince, the narrator explains that the two stepsisters, now out from under their mother's influence and safe with Cinderella, realise through her example how wrong their previous conduct was. Having repented for their bad ways, they managed to change themselves so significantly that

two Lords fell in love with and marry them. They are, in short, rewarded for realising the error of their ways with good husbands, but they never suffered 'contempt and reprobation' before this, and never receive any kind of judgement or punishment for their behaviours. Most importantly, the only way in which they gain 'sweetness of manners' and the respect of their peers is by directly going against their mother's teachings. The text explains that,

> They afterwards, through the means of Cinderella, married two great lords of the court - men of amiable manners, who really loved them. They soon began to form comparisons, which they found were not favourable to their past conduct; and, as their errors had arisen principally from being too much indulged in their youth, they were struck with the contrast of their behaviour to Cinderella, and her kindness to them: they also felt her superiority and the prince's, as well as their own lords', from the universal esteem in which they were held; and they seriously resolved to conquer their ill-natured and envious habits: - this they at length accomplished; and became as remarkable for the mildness of their manners, as they had been before for their illiberality. (31-32)

In other words, the sisters only began to improve their ways when they exchanged their mother's influence for Cinderella's. If they had continued to be obedient to their mother's orders, they would never have become good people. They also demonstrate that people can change, and that by refusing to treat them 'with contempt and reprobation' despite their bad tempers, Cinderella was the means of saving them. The stepsisters never meet with any contempt from anyone, and thus the lesson of comparison offered in the moral is not demonstrated in the text itself. For these reasons, the moral becomes muddied and uncertain: should readers focus on what the text actually demonstrates – that a mother's teachings can be wrong, and children should use their own judgement to find better influences - or on what it claims to teach? Ironically, despite the didacticism, this text's moral lesson is the least clear of all the texts examined here. In the end, it must be concluded that despite a great deal of focus

on the divide between moral didactic fairy tales and fairy tales written for entertainment, an examination of different versions of *Cinderella* indicates that both Types actually attempted to teach the child reader almost identical lessons and that, indeed, sometimes the didactic moral could appear to contrast with the moral of the text itself, thus providing a degree of confusion not present in the Type D versions of the tale.

All of these examples demonstrate that from the beginning of the century there were, in fact, a great number of texts that utilised fantastical elements to teach didactic moral lessons. More than that, however, these lessons were not confined to specific ideas defined by the genre that they were using; for instance, anthropomorphic texts are not restricted to fables. Further, lessons could sometimes be contradictory to the very content of the text itself. Ultimately, it must be concluded that, despite a general belief that there was a great divide between moral and fantastical literature for children, moral lessons are not only present within unambiguously realistic and moral texts, but also in fantastical texts, and moral didacticism also existed alongside the fantastical right from the beginning of the nineteenth century. This means that the ideology imparted in these texts was not only consistent across the century, but consistently favoured the established class system by encouraging obedience and submission through appearing to promise that it leads to climbing the social ladder while in reality enforcing the fact that only those characters that were originally 'supposed' to be wealthier anyway ever benefit.

Anthropomorphic Texts

Fairy tales were not the only use of traditional fantastical elements in cheap nineteenth-century print. Another major genre was anthropomorphic stories. Anthropomorphism is rarely discussed in depth when examining fantasy and the fantastical, despite the fact that tales of

talking animals, or animals and objects that portray human characteristics, are by any measure fantastical in nature and form. However, the treatment of such texts in the nineteenth century – particularly the early part of the century – was vastly different from the scrutiny and suspicion to which fairy tales were subjected. Indeed, there seems to be little discussion on the desirability of their existence at all. This is almost certainly due to their historical association with the fable, which in turn may explain why these stories have received comparatively little attention from critics.

While there is a notable body of work that examines how children's literature approaches anthropomorphism, more remains to be done. As recently as 2021, Chengcheng You's essay 'The Necessity of an Anthropomorphic Approach to Children's Literature' has argued that this area of criticism needs some degree of critical attention. Her introduction observes that

> [f]ew aspects of children's literature pass unnoticed as often as anthropomorphism, a human tendency to ascribe notionally human traits to non-human animals and a rhetorical strategy in literary representation. (183)

And indeed, You is correct in her claim that this area of children's literature studies – for anthropomorphism is strongly associated with children's literature – has been largely neglected. With so little criticism examining anthropomorphic children's stories, a turn to the wider conversation of animal studies becomes prudent. Since the publication of John Berger's *Why Look at Animals?* in 1977, animal studies have strived to examine the use and representation – or, often, the *mis*use and *mis*representation – of animals in literature. Understandably, this has almost always been attempted through an 'animal-centric' framework, one which tries to explore these portrayals of animal subjects in terms of how they speak about animals, rather than people. As a result, allegorical tales and symbolism have often been set aside or acknowledged only so that the criticism can move away from it. Greg Garrard,

for example, notes resignedly that allegorisation 'is the fate of most fictional animals, and figurality is in any case impossible to police' (252). The implication of such a statement seems to be that if possible, such a thing *should* be policed, or at the very least marginalised in favour of texts that do not use allegorical forms of animals. Onno Oerlemans addresses this critical attitude in his fascinating essay 'Poetry and Animals: Blurring the Boundaries with the Human', in which he argues that

> in the representation of animals, animal-oriented criticism decries the various ways in which animals have been used and subjected, including the ways in which we have supplied them with cultural and social meaning. Projecting meaning diminishes our sense of their distinctness, makes them merely subjects of our power, and co-opts their presence. (27)

So it is clear that much criticism of animal fiction is ultimately uninterested in fable-like or allegorical tales – or, indeed, in stories with animals that are not necessarily 'about' animals. But Oerlemans argues that this binary between the allegorical and 'actual' fictional animals is a false one. He claims that

> [t]he debate about whether animal fables can be about real animals reflects the complexity of allegory as a mode of representation. Allegory and the representation of animals in literature are deeply connected because allegory is the dominant mode through which animals enter literature, and it becomes the mode through which they are read. (30)

In other words, he argues, it is possible for an allegorical animal tale to be about both humans and animals simultaneously: one does not negate the existence of the other. Such a possibility usefully provides a wider scope to examine anthropomorphic animal tales. But then, what do cheap nineteenth-century anthropomorphic children's texts have to say about either humans or

animals? And, more relevantly to this particular study, how is the fantastical element of anthropomorphism utilised in these texts?

This is not the place to explore the breadth and scope of anthropomorphism within cheap nineteenth-century children's print, but an examination of a small number of texts provides a framework for such a study. The influence of fable stories on anthropomorphic representations of animals is strongly evident in the earliest parts of the century. One example is *The Trial of an Ox for Killing a Man*, published by J. G. Rusher in Banbury, 1830, with 20 pages and priced at one penny. In this story, a collection of animals gathers to determine whether an Ox was justified in killing his abusive master; they conclude that he should be exonerated of his crime. The two-fold nature of the symbolism is obvious: this is a story of animal abuse and a condemnation of animal abuse, but also more generally a critique of those in power who are cruel to the powerless. However, the metaphorical aspect of the story removes none of the impact of the lesson about animal cruelty. Indeed, when the tiger takes the stage to deliver his speech on the cruelties of man, the message is inescapable:

> 'Tis amazing that mankind should complain of cruelty in animals, when their own minds are productive of such scenes of inhumanity: Are not the Ox and other creatures murdered for their emolument? Are nor we hunted for their amusement, as well as the Stag and the Hare? Are not the bees burnt, and their houses plundered for their use? (14-15)

But if this is a story about animal cruelty, is cannot truly be a tale about animals as such, nor can it be interpreted as an allegory about humans alone; rather, it is about humans' treatment of animals. At the very least, rather than the doubling of the literal and the allegorical that Oerlemans theorises, this story is about how human relationships with animals reveal something about humans – and that the animals cannot, or rather should not, be held

accountable for their responses to human behaviour. The underlying binary of the powerful/powerless is no surface allegory, but rather lies secondary to this first interpretation of the text. In this way, *Trials of an Ox* allows many of the same lessons as religious and moral texts that discuss animal cruelty as examined in previous chapters. However, this text works differently from those moral tales because the animals are given voices and granted agency. While it is true that these are human voices spoken through fantastical animal puppets, the agency shown by the Ox in retaliating to his treatment is upheld by these voices. Thus, the fantastic here is employed in a way that, despite the puppeteering, appears to support animal agency – and, by extension, the agency of the powerless – in a way that other moral and domestic texts about animal abuse never permit.

It is not so much in the overarching story itself, however, as it is in the individual animals that the true influence of fable stories makes itself known here. The Ox is strong enough to have killed; the Lion resides as judge; the hardworking bees and the tiger speak eloquently in the Ox's favour. All of these characterisations are in line with fable story interpretations of these animals – especially the dog, with its servility to man. But while the influence of these allegorical characteristics is clear, they remain secondary to the overall arc of the story itself: the fact that the dogs serve men does not influence the Judge's decision to exclude them. This means that the focus of the story in entirely on the ideology surrounding animal welfare. Any conversation about treatments of different kinds of animals is disregarded in favour of the discussion surrounding how behaviour towards any animals reflects back on the human committing the acts against them. As such, the allegory is secondary to the condemnation of cruelty itself.

By contrast, earlier stories seem to almost revel in these allegorical connections. Possibly the most interesting of these is *The Lion's Masquerade: A Sequel to The Peacock at Home*, mentioned in Chapter 1. Written by Catherine Ann Turner Dorset and published

anonymously by J. Harris, the 20-page text has a number of full-page colour engravings. The quality of the pages and print is difficult to discern from facsimile, and the covers have not been kept. Given its short length, lack of price, and small pages, it has been included here, but it should be noted that the text's designation as 'cheap' is open for debate. One of the many 'sequels' to *The Butterfly's Ball*, *The Lion's Masquerade* (1808) is fascinating in its doubling of anthropomorphised animals dressing up as humans associated with the characteristics assigned to them by traditional fables. One verse, for example, reads thus:

> The *Greyhound* as *Vanity* holding a glass,
>
> The *Stag*, as *Aeteon*; *King Midas*, the *Ass*.
>
> And next to them a sullen, and obstinate *Mule*,
>
> As a *Dunce*, who had just been expell'd from his school.
>
> The *Mastiff* a brave *English Sailor* appear'd,
>
> No friend he betray'd, and no enemy fear'd. (10)

The layering here is obvious. The ass, allegorically associated with stupidity, masquerades as King Midas, who was foolish and greedy and had ass ears put onto his head in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; the mule, who is 'stubborn and obstinate', is a failed scholar; the mastiff is a brave and true sailor, and so on. It is not so much implied as assumed that these groups of people are thus in turn linked to these characteristics. But here, unlike in *The Trial of an Ox*, the use of the fantastical anthropomorphised animals removes the subject from its source. Rather than simply stating that dunces are sullen and obstinate, the mule is pretending to be a dunce, and thus is not actually to be a dunce at all, but only masquerading. Instead of a straightforward link between a group of humans and a characteristic, the animal stands between them, playacting at both the human and, of course, the allegorically assigned character trait, which does not, in fact, belong to the animal at all. The fantastical human-like animals therefore confuse and blur the very connections that they appear to enforce. Thus despite both *Trial of*

an Ox and *Lion's Masquerade* making use of the ways in which fables have traditionally characterised animals, the effects of these are fundamentally different across these two texts.

Over the course of the century, the influence of the fable on anthropomorphic stories becomes less distinct. In the second half of the century, stories about adventures of domestic animals, particularly cats, become more commonplace, such as *Aunt Louisa's Toy Books: Pussy's London Life* (Frederick Warne and Co., c. 1880, 38 pages, one shilling), *The Cat's Pilgrimage* (Edmonston and Douglas, 1870, 21 pages, no price given), and *The Tortoiseshell Kitten; or, The Adventures of Puss for Three Months* (Dean and Munday, c. 1811-1847, 33 pages, price two pence). One example is *Warne's Little Playmates: Pussy Cat's Adventures,* published by Frederick Warne and Co. in c. 1887, 32 pages with one full-page colour illustration and multiple smaller black and white pictures. In this tale, Blanche the cat attempts to visit the Queen and has several mishaps, often due to her personal vanity, before learning both to love kind people even if they are poor and to be contented with her lot. The influence of the domestic story seems stronger than that of fables. For example, after being rescued by a poor but kind working-class family, the narrator describes Blanche's attitude as such:

> As she lay in the sunshine before the cottage door, she thought with great discontent of her life. It was strange that on her way to see the Queen she should have fallen in with an ill-bred cat, and some quite poor people! The bad teaching of Lady Clare now brought forth its evil effects. Blanche despised her friends because they were poor. (17)

In fables, animal characteristics are fixed, and the animals cannot change their supposed nature, even if they masquerade dressed up as humans. By contrast, Blanche learns to be less vain, and to judge people by their actions rather than their wealth, a moral character development often associated with the domestic stories of the same period as discussed in Chapter 3. Blanche's change in attitude comes about after all her misadventures, as is typical of such stories, when

at last she cries out: “Oh, why was I so naughty? I will go home” (27). The influence of the use of the fantastical human-like animal is thus more subtle than in the texts discussed above. The doubling of the animal and the allegory is much closer than in *Trial of an Ox* or *Lion’s Masquerade*. The story is clearly meant to be read as a metaphor first and foremost, and a lesson to implied working-class child readers about their own attitudes and behaviours. But even so, human actions towards animals run as a theme throughout the tale. Good people are kind to cats; bad people are cruel. Blanche’s encounter with a milkman, for example, goes badly for her. The narrator describes how

> [when the milkman] saw a cat in his milk-pail, he was dreadfully angry. Of course, he drew her out at once, for no one must know that a Pussy had been bathing in his milk! But when she was out, he beat her soundly, and scolded her terribly, calling her a thief and all kinds of bad names, and throwing her on the stones. (21)

The narrator does not explain that the milkman should not have beaten Blanche: in a story told through the cat’s eyes, her pain is obvious. So to an extent, the doubling of allegorical and literal cat works similarly to *Trial of an Ox*, even though the allegory is much closer to the surface here. Blanche’s actions and the lessons that she learns may be interpreted as a metaphor for human actions – but the actions of the human characters towards her are presented as literal animal cruelty. Blanche is thus simultaneously a human metaphor who must take responsibility for her own attitude, and a literal cat who is a victim of human actions. This tale differs, then from most domestic stories, where characters learn lessons through their own fault with often little sympathy offered. Here, Blanche is both a victim and a perpetrator of her own fate, a fact reinforced by the narrator’s referencing of her mother’s bad teachings: Blanche was not raised correctly, and is not treated well by all of the people that she meets. Certainly she makes the wrong choices under her own agency, but she is not shown to be responsible for the milkman’s treatment of her. Thus Blanche’s personal agency within a human system that she cannot

control creates a subtlety of understanding not necessarily as present in similar plotlines examined in domestic fiction in Chapter 3 that do not utilise fantastical anthropomorphic animals. The fantastic allows for a far subtler reading of Blanche's circumstances and journey. This means that the ideologies promoted by the text are far more blurred than many of the others shown in this chapter: Blanche is simultaneously responsible for her own behaviours and also a victim of a system that does not favour her.

There is not the space here to examine deeply the other anthropomorphic texts of the period. Another study will have to explore this area in greater depth. There are, for example, a number of 'Histories of' or 'Adventures of' everything from coins to mice to peg-tops to dolls, the likes of which have been examined to some extent by such critics as Jane Carroll. However, though this is only a small glimpse into these, I believe that it is enough to act in support of You's argument that anthropomorphic children's fiction is an area that does warrant serious critical attention, as it reveals a surprising degree of complexity in interpretation, as well as offering both a defense of Oerlemans's argument that allegorical animals are complex and doubled, as well as an argument that these allegories create a distancing and a subtlety between the human and the metaphor in a way that a tale without the allegorical animal could not achieve, even as these texts move away from fable characteristics across the century. Across cheap fiction for children, at least, it seems evident than anthropomorphized animals operated a large but nuanced space, where what appears on the surface to be straightforward allegory is often in truth more complex than it at first appears to be.

Original Fantasy Fiction

The fact that texts with fantastical elements make up the majority of 'unreal' works does not mean that no fantasy was written at all for the cheap children's market. In the second half of

the century, a small number of tales appeared that fit the criteria laid out earlier in the chapter for being original fantasy stories. There are, however, clear differences between these texts and the more expensive fantasy novels that were being published at the same time. The most important of these is the range of approaches these publications take towards presenting the moral lesson of the tale – or, indeed, forming a moral for the story at all. More expensive fantasy literature, including Carroll's *Alice* books, Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*, and MacDonald's fantasy fiction, displays a generally either dismissive or revisionist attitude towards early nineteenth-century moral fiction. By contrast, cheap fantasy continued to embrace the moral form unironically for a longer period, before changing to a more self-knowing style in the 1880s. Indeed, many of these texts have more in common with the earlier moral tales than with the more expensive fantasy novels with which they were contemporary.

It would be a mistake to claim that the more expensive works of fantasy produced in the second half of the nineteenth century showed no interest in moral teachings. But while the approaches of each story differ, none of them can be placed into the Type B category of texts. Of these, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, its sequel *Through the Looking Glass*, and Kingsley's *The Water-Babies* are no doubt the most famous. This is not the place to summarise in detail the vast body of critical works that examine the Alice books and Carroll's lasting impact on fantasy, children's literature, and the wider literary culture, but it is necessary to acknowledge that a number of these attempts have recognised Carroll's interest in and satirization of the moral tale form. Amongst these are; Ann Lawson Lucas's 'Enquiring Mind, Rebellious Spirit: Alice and Pinocchio as Nonmodel Children', which argues that Alice is supposed to act as a satire of the 'typical model child' for the middle classes (166), and that her methodical approach to 'scientific enquiry through self-administrated trials' (160) with the mushrooms, along with her refusal to submit to adult nonsense (162), work to create this satire. Essentially, *Alice* engages with social norms in order to mock, satirize, and dismantle them in

a way that can at time feel almost contemptuous. The same, of course, is true in *Alice*'s approach to moral lessons as well, as seen in 'How Doth the Little Crocodile', and the famous moment on finding the DRINK ME bottle, where the narrator states that Alice 'had read several nice little stories about children who had got burned, and eaten up by wild beast, and other unpleasant things, all because they *would* not remember the simple rules their friends had taught them' (*Alice* 8-9). Indeed, the moral form is opened up to satirical attack throughout the whole text.

The approach taken in *The Water-Babies* is somewhat different. While by no means a Type B text, *The Water-Babies* nevertheless engages with class, gender, educational, and moral issues throughout the tale. As critics of his work have pointed out, however, Kingsley's primary concern was with the morality of the evolutionary theory. Pier J. Hale, for example, notes that Kingsley's description of the Doasyoulikes engages with the Victorian fear of moral and evolutionary degeneration. He concluded that a 'moral challenge' was presented through the way that 'even the most progressive of Victorians were aware that evolution had a darker side, and threatened degeneration just as readily' (Hale 552). Hale's acknowledgement of the link between moral and evolutionary degeneration – and, in fact, Kingsley's own demonstration with the Doasyoulikes, who act selfishly and therefore degenerate back into apes – reveals a crux of fear over possible consequences of the perceived link between science and morality. Indeed, Jessica Straley argues that

> Despite his satire of morphology and its practitioners, Kingsley supported the theory of evolution and hoped to reconcile it with a natural theology that interpreted the order and beauty of the physical world as evidence of divine design. (Straley 584)

The desire to connect science to moral reform, and the belief that the two are intricately interconnected, is evident throughout *The Water-Babies*, and runs alongside Kingsley's social

reformist themes, which are established early in the text. Tom, the main character, cannot get into heaven because the wealthy people of the country failed to teach him about Jesus. So he is left with the other water babies in a fantastical version of infant purgatory and has to learn to be good himself. The moral is obvious throughout, although it is never overtly spoken. Tom certainly learns many lessons from several teachers, and the implied working-class child reader is encouraged to consider their own positions. But the narrator, despite offering numerous asides, never spells out the overarching moral of the text in the way that would be expected in the earlier moral stories and moral fairy tales. The moral is still present, but is offered in a different form from that to which Type B texts adhere.

Kingsley and Carroll are far from the only examples of authors of more expensive fantasy that adhere to the same pattern of offering moral lessons in their texts, genuine or satirized, without following the Type B text patterns of earlier moral tales. That is to say, these texts actively engage with moral lessons in literature, but are not themselves explicitly didactic texts. The moral exists, whether genuine or satirized, but it is not a single, overarching, explicitly stated message. In fact, there is such a difference between earlier moral children's texts and more expensive fantasy for children. In *Children's Fantasy Literature: An Introduction*, Michael Levy and Farah Mendlesohn set out their view that 'Children's fantasy has far stronger roots in tales of the fantastic than it does in tales for children' (Levy and Mendlesohn 11). However, while this may be true for these more expensive novels, the connection between cheap children's fantasy and earlier children's texts is much clearer. Cheap fantasy for children in the second half of the nineteenth century did not deviate so completely from the ways in which moral, religious, and social lessons were taught through the text. Many of the earlier examples bear such a striking resemblance to moral fairy tales that it is difficult to be entirely certain where the line is. And until 1880, almost all of them are Type B texts.

This means that there is a clear distinction between cheap fantasy for children and more expensive fantasy novels throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

Pre-dating *The Water-Babies*, there are a few texts within the corpus that could be considered fantasy fiction and were written for a working-class juvenile readership. One of these, *Blanch and Rosalinda*, seems to be a reimagining of the Perrault story *Diamonds and Toads*. Nine pages, paper bound, and with four black and white illustrations, this text was printed anonymously in c. 1835-1857, most likely by J. L. Marks in London. In it, a fairy disguised as an old woman stops at a cottage for help. Their mother sends Blanch grudgingly to her plum tree to offer the woman a fruit, and Rosalinda joyfully and without prompting offers her one of her hen's eggs. The fairy thus blesses Rosalinda with a good farm and steady husband, and Blanch to be Queen. Blanch thinks that her lot is the better, until she realises that court is filled with people who look down on her background and poison her husband the King against her, and she becomes ill. She repents of her previous discontentment:

> Alas cried the Queen the Fairy made me a sad present, content is not found is Palaces but in the Country life, the Fairy at this moment appeared and said what she had done was to punish her for not giving her some of her Plumbs [sic] readily but that now she should spend the rest of her days in happiness with her Sister. (*Blanch and Rosalinda* 8, punctuation original)

Blanch then returns to Rosalinda and lives happily with her for the rest of her days. The spoken moral, given by the fairy, is clear: Blanch should have given the plums joyfully and willingly, and been contented with her lot. The moral is made starker when this text is compared to the Perrault story *Diamonds and Toads*, in which one sister draws water from a well for a fairy and is rewarded by having diamonds fall from her mouth every time she speaks, and the other is rude and discourteous and is cursed to have toads fall out of her mouth. In the cheap print

version, Blanch completes the good deed, in that she does offer her plums to the fairy. But that alone is not enough, and so her attitude is also punished. Just as in the earlier moral tales, there are issues with the delivery of the lesson: her husband is never punished for listening to what is said about her, and the ladies of the court never have to face any consequences for spreading slander. In fact, it is arguably a selfish story: Blanch leaves her duties as Queen to live happily in the countryside. But the lesson about contentment with one's lot – particularly against social ambition – is so well worn by the mid-nineteenth century that even though technically it is an original fantasy, it feels almost overly familiar. Unlike more expensive children's fantasy, which actively worked to mock, restructure, or even just re-examine aspects of children's literature, this early example of cheap children's fantasy does nothing to destabilise the framework of moral children's texts that it is working within. Indeed, it feels so similar to the moral fairy tales discussed above that the text is almost remarkable for how unremarkable it is. This means that the ideology being upheld in the text is essentially unchanged from that advocated by much earlier texts, so despite the rise of the new genre, the underlying messaging remains unchanged and constant.

Another example is the *Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales* series, a collection of toy books published in the 1850s by G. Routledge and Co., priced at sixpence or one shilling, with around 30 pages each, and written and illustrated by Crowquill. This series covers a number of genres and topics, but four texts in particular can be firmly classified as fantasy fiction. These are *Patty and her Pitcher; or, Kindness of Heart*; *The Selfish Man; or, The World's Teaching*; *The Giant and the Dwarf; or, Strength and Reason*; and *The Giant Hands; or, the Rewards of Industry*. Of these, perhaps the most interesting are *The Giant and the Dwarf* and *The Selfish Man*. One of these, *The Selfish Man*, follows many of the same patterns as other Type B texts containing fantastical elements as explored above. The text is written with each word split into syllables as shown in the quotation below, suggesting a younger intended readership – or at

least, a less confident one, which also indicates a readership with less access to education. The split words allow a reader to sound out each syllable separately, and then connect them into full words. The main character is a miser who does not want his sister to marry as he would lose unpaid labour, so when a dwarf tells him that he will steal all of his wheat he tricks his sister's suitor into buying it in order to bankrupt him. The dwarf is so impressed at his miserly conduct that he takes him as a slave, and the man is forced to endure terrible hardship until he at last escapes to sea and is rescued by children in a fishing boat. The fisherman's son exclaims for joy at finding him, saying,

> you do not know how hap-py it has made us that hea-ven has giv-en us the op-por-tu-ni-ty of sa-ving you; it is we who ought to be thank-ful when we can do a good ac-ti-on, so our food fa-ther teach-es us" – "I wish mine had," thought Carl. (23)

The man eventually makes it home to find that his sister has married in his absence. She and her husband, who had tricked him, greet him ecstatically. He repents of his selfishness, and when the dwarf comes back to reclaim him, he leaves in disgust on finding that Carl is now a good man. Again, while the tale is original, the text bears a striking similarity to the moral fairy tales examined above, even down to the conflict between the overt and implied moral lessons of the story. The didactic moral given is that Carl's own selfishness resulted in his punishment, and that this is just and good. The implication of Carl's thought that he wished his father had taught him the same things that the fisherman's son had learned suggests that Carl's selfishness was not, in fact, entirely his own fault, but rather can be laid at the feet of his parents. Due to the biblical directive to 'honour thy father and mother', criticism of parents in cheap children's literature, particularly those at the most didactic end of the spectrum, is so rare as to be immediately notable, just as with the implied criticism of Blanch's husband, who listened to gossip-mongers rather than believing his wife. But just as in that case, the thought is never explored again, but rather passed over in favour of focusing on the text's moral lesson. The

resemblance between these texts and earlier moral fairy tales is almost ironic. In appearing moral and thus hopefully unproblematic, the texts actually display the same fault that is examined in the retellings of *Cinderella* explored above: the didactic moral does not necessarily reflect the ideology that the text seems to teach. This, too, then, remains consistent across the century: both the ideology itself and the flawed methods of imparting it are remarkably stable throughout the decades.

Another Crowquill text offers a contrasting example of spoken and unspoken moral lessons. *The Giant and the Dwarf* tells the story of the giant Strength, who loses a battle to the wits of the dwarf Reason, and becomes his most ardent admirer and follower. Reason teaches him to think rather than rely on brute force, and Strength loves him. The narrator describes them thus:

> He looked, with won-der and af-fec-tion, up-on the be-ing who had re-mov-ed the scales from his eyes, and taught him to gaze up-on the light, which had found its way in-to the deep-est re-cess-es of his heart, and put flight to the e-vil pas-si-ons that had, hi-ther-to, held pos-ses-sion of its dark so-li-tudes. (29)

The allegory is not subtle: Strength is no good without Reason. But the imperialist feel of the text is also undeniable. Strength is powerful, certainly, but relies on force until he is taught better by Reason, who could easily be understood as an allegorical representation of Western Enlightenment, which saw certain Western ideas of scientific progress as superior to old or foreign 'superstitions', and believed themselves to have a duty of responsibility to educate the less advanced people. Strength rewards this lesson with unending devotion and gratitude. In this instance, unlike with many other Type B texts, the overt and underlying morals are not in contrast with one another, but rather layer on top of each other. On an individual level, the didactic moral argues, you must learn to temper your strength with reason. On an imperial

level, the implied moral argues, your Western reasoning is superior to the strength of other cultures, and they should be grateful for any lessons you choose to impart to them. Stephen Prickett suggests understanding Victorian fantasy as being

> the *underside* or *obverse* of the Victorian imagination cannot be taken simply to mean that fantasy is always an escape or refuge from a social code. There are too many variables and too many levels involved. (40, italics original)

But while it is certainly true that more expensive fantasy stories can sometimes appear to be separate from or attempting to undermine or question social codes, these cheap fantasy children's texts do not even offer the suggestion that social codes, or moral codes, should not be taken into account. Rather, these fantasies strictly reinforce these codes. The fantasy genre itself, especially for children, may be novel, but the moral lessons they display and the manner in which they present them shows little interest in departing from the structure and expectations of earlier cheap children's texts. The result is that the fantasy itself feels grounded in the history of cheap children's literature. These texts are not separate from their predecessors, but rather offer original fantastical stories through which the moral tale structure is still utilised. The fantastic is thus a comfortable part of the moral tale, and does not feel out of place within cheap children's fiction in the same way as *Alice* feels jarringly different from *The Daisy Chain*, a work of domestic fiction written in 1856 by Charlotte Mary Yonge. The elements of fantasy within these Type B texts still serve to promote the moral of text first and foremost.

Three texts in the corpus published between 1850 and 1880 can comfortably be viewed as fantasy fiction. These are *The King of Root Valley and his Curious Daughter*, *Eyebright: A Tale from Fairyland*, and *How the Fairy Violet Lost and Won Her Wings*. All of these are, once again, Type B texts, and bear a strong resemblance both to *Blanch and Rosalinda* or *Crowquill*'s texts and to turn-of-the-century moral texts. In *Root Valley*, the Princess is cast out

for being haughty and rude, and when her husband the Nutcracker loses a battle she is forced to hide in a tree, where she repents and saves her people from the Birdcatcher. *Eyebright* tells the story of a princess whose father has been cursed, and her obedience and goodness lead her to go on an adventure to rescue him. In *The Fairy Violet*, cruel boys rip off Violet's wings. She asks the Fire and Snow Spirit kings for help, but they cannot aid her, so she has to grow back her wings through doing good deeds for others. She tends to flowers, birds, and animals, and then to a dying child. When the child's soul goes to heaven, Violet's wings return and she is able to go home, where she is greeted as one of the most radiantly good fairies in the kingdom. All of these books are remarkable firstly for how closely they resemble earlier texts. Aside from greater length leading to more detail, there is little difference between these tales and, for example, *Blanch and Rosalinda*, in either their structure or their format. More striking, however, is their expense. *Blanch and Rosalinda* resembles a chapbook, with cheap text, rough paper, and small pages. The *Alfred Crowquill* texts are better made, with coloured illustrations, but still within the sphere of cheaper texts for children. These three texts, however, are all longer, and well-made. Even *The Fairy Violet*, which is priced at fourpence, is made with good ink on good paper, and has detailed original illustrations. Unlike the earlier texts, which were made cheaply, these were printed with greater care. There is a possibility that they may have been subsidised, particularly the very cheap but unusually well-made *Fairy Violet*, but regardless, such a change in the apparent status of the printing of these fantasy texts suggests that they were viewed as more than simply throwaways for the very cheapest part of the market, indicating that the status and 'respectability' of moral fantasy had improved somewhat by this time.

This care in printing is made all the more notable by the continued focus of all of these texts on a single explicit moral lesson given within the text. As was examined in Chapters One and Two, by the 1860s and 1870s the Type B moral text was still very much a part of the cheap

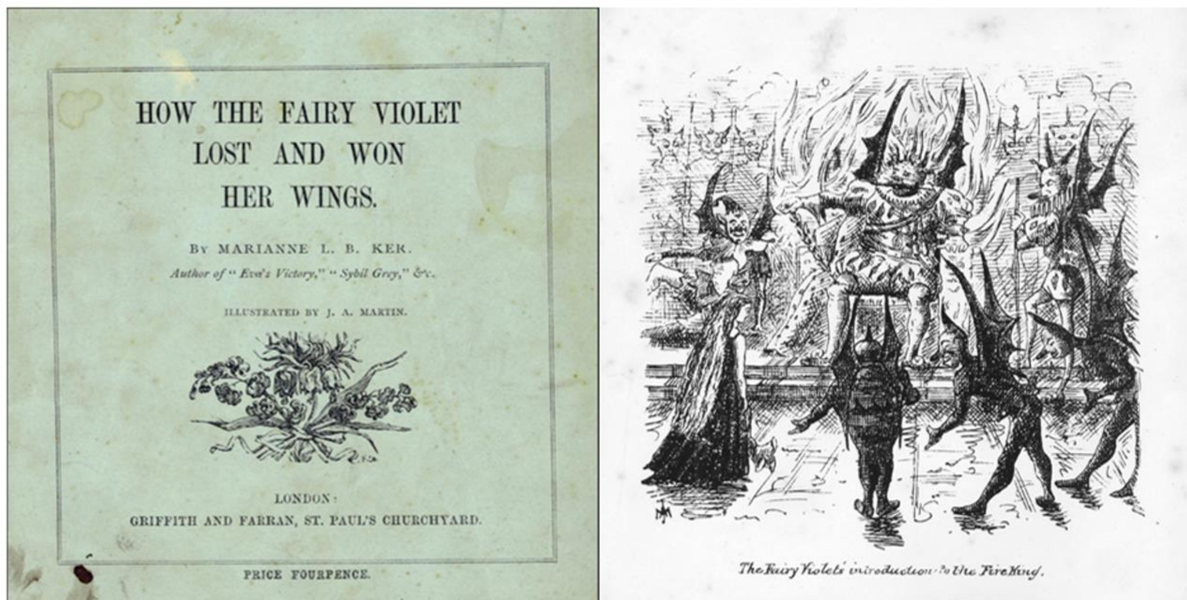


Figure 5.5: Images of *How the Fairy Violet Lost and Won Her Wings* (Griffith and Farran, 1872, price 4d). Left: cover art. Right: illustration of the Fire King's court, p. 3.

children's text market, but it no longer held as dominant a position in the market it had earlier in the century. So while they apply the same Type B structure, there is a more deliberate purpose to it. The structure does not merely feel safe and familiar, but rather has been chosen in order to promote particular morals that wealthy patrons felt working-class child readers ought to have access to. Even when, as discussed above in regards to moral fairy tales, the explicit moral did not always sit comfortably with the text's implied moral, still such a style of text would have felt familiar. Such a use of familiar elements is particularly notable in a genre that was, at the time, relatively new within the children's print market. Throughout the first half of the century, as discussed above, there was a great uneasiness about fantastical elements in children's literature, particularly in cheap works available to the poor. But these texts demonstrate that by this point in time, fear had eased off enough for original fantasy to be written and designed for the popular market with the express purpose of teaching moral lessons. There must therefore have been an understanding that fantastical elements within moral stories could be useful, as well as a desire to employ them deliberately.

All of the remaining texts within the corpus that fall into the category of fantasy stories for children were published after 1880. The SPCK, for example, published some texts by Juliana Horatia Ewing, who has been examined elsewhere. These, while not straightforwardly didactic, do contain moral elements, such as *The Magic Ring* and *The Poet and the Brook*. Of the other texts only one contains no moral elements at all, though most are not strictly didactic: *The Fairy Horn. The Fairy Horn* is a poem about a princess trapped in a castle by a giant and a dragon. Many knights try to save her and perish, until a beautiful and vain man appears, and wins against both monsters with almost no effort by blowing on the Fairy Horn. He is thus revealed to be the Fairy Prince; the sound of the horn kills the dragon and the giant instantly, and the princess runs into his arms. The description of the Prince reveals the extent to which his character is supposed to be taken seriously:

> A youthful presence like a girl:
> His hair like silk, his eyes like flowers:
> Serenely playing with a curl,
> He gazed upon the gloomy towers.
>
> He pinched his ears to make them red,
> He waved his hands to make them white,
> His long hair blew about his head—
> In truth, he was a pretty sight. (12)

Neither the fairy's appearance nor his vanity is remarked on again. Rather, the narrator's statement that 'he was a pretty sight' is left to stand unchallenged. Here, the satire in Tennyson-style Medieval romances is obvious, particularly as Tennyson himself would have been well known amongst wealthier readers, and possibly amongst a wider readership of newspapers as well. Here, then, is the irony and mockery that has until this point been missing from cheap

fantasy, despite being evident in more expensive fantasy since the 1850s. The Fairy Prince is a ridiculous figure, pleased with himself despite winning effortlessly, and more interested in making his ears red, his hands white, and his hair blow than concerned for the princess – who nevertheless falls at his feet, despite his absurdity and lack of self-awareness. However, there is no Alice figure equivalent here to point out those absurdities and bring middle-class rationality to the tale. The Fairy Prince is destined to win because of who he is, in spite of his vanity, and the princess is more than pleased with this fate. Thus, even when satire finally enters cheap children's fantasy, it does not play exactly the same role as satire within more expensive fiction, because there is no independent, rational child-figure exposing the failures of the adults around them. The satirical figures are left without any check or guide, and thus there is no hope of them becoming rational later on. They exist purely to be mocked for their ridiculousness. Here at last then, towards the very end of the century, are the ideologies upheld right from the earliest decades finally pulled down, either to be questioned or ignored entirely.

Conclusion

While the corpus contains relatively few works that can be considered original fantasies, these texts reveal a longer history of didacticism than more expensive fantasy novels, before settling into a more playful narrative style at the end of the century. Moreover, a wider exploration of fantastical elements as a whole reveals that moral fairy tales, earlier retellings of Perrault and Middle Eastern stories, and anthropomorphic stories all approach the deployment of fantastical elements in different ways. What emerges is a collection of texts that more nearly resembles moral didactic fiction than the later expensive nineteenth-century fantasies for children. Full-length novels of the kind now most associated with Victorian fantasy for children were inaccessible to the poorest and least educated in the purest sense of the word. Not only were

they, as discussed above, far too expensive for most children to be able to afford, their subjects required a high level of shared knowledge to follow properly, such as an understanding of evolutionary theory in *The Water-Babies*, or a prior knowledge of moral tales in *Alice*. They required a high level of literacy and good reading stamina, on top of this range of cultural knowledge. By comparison, of the texts in the corpus, both those that can be fully classed as fantasy fiction and those that merely contain fantastical elements, follow a general pattern of adhering to the structure of the moral tale well into the late parts of the century. Not only the teaching methods used, but the ideology being taught in and supported by the texts is also consistent across the majority of the century. There is no satire and little irony in these texts, but rather an earnest desire to teach and guide that closely resembles the moral stories and moral fairy tales that were being printed for children from the end of the eighteenth century. Instead, when combined with the continued use of didactic moral and religious teachings discussed in Chapter 2, the insistence on strict gender and class roles examined in Chapter 3, and the consistency of the stereotypes examined in Chapter 4, it is clear that there is an inherent conservatism within cheap nineteenth-century children's literature that results in changes occurring slowly and cautiously when compared to the more expensive novels for children.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to test how well the claims in the standard histories of nineteenth-century children's literature stand up when cheap print is considered instead of more expensive works, and to discover whether there was a difference in what was being printed cheaply for children in the nineteenth century when compared to the more expensive children's texts that were accessible only to the wealthy. Previous critics, following on from the example set by Darton, have kept to a relatively small sample of texts, most of which were too expensive for the majority of children to afford. They also had a tendency to value certain kinds of texts over others, favouring 'entertaining' texts over moral or instructional works. By contrast, my corpus examines a wide range of cheap and ephemeral print. By engaging with such a comparatively large number of titles, and examining them across genres rather than confining explorations to a particular type of text, this study takes a far broader view of changes in cheap print generally than is possible with smaller studies. This process has revealed that cheap print for children tended to be far more conservative than more expensive texts in terms of changes such as moving away from didacticism and embracing fantasy fiction. The reluctance within the cheaper market to embrace change can be seen in a consistency in the kinds of ideological messages surrounding family, gender, culture and nationality, class allegiances, and religion contained in texts accessible to working-class children for a hundred years. Such a sustained image of how the world should work must be deemed significant to our understanding of the history of children's literature.

This is particularly evident through the different themes explored across each chapter. Some critics, including Patricia Demers and Mitzi Myers, have attempted to address the imbalance created by ignoring religious and didactic texts, but never by examining all the different types and genres of texts for children together at once. As a result, their conclusions

were limited in scope: they could only definitely be said to apply to specific groups of texts. More than that, their examinations are typically centered around more expensive texts or canonical authors, and they have concluded that didacticism was almost entirely faded out by the mid-century. By contrast, Chapter 2 of this thesis engages with the didactic and the non-didactic alongside one another. Comparing religious, moral, and secular 'entertainment' together in this way has demonstrated that didactic texts continued to be produced, albeit as a lower percentage of the market, right up to 1890. This thesis also engages with these texts with non-didactic tales in a way that has never been attempted on this scale before, and in doing so has demonstrated the ways in which these different text Types existed alongside one another, appealing to the same cheap market across the entirety of the nineteenth century.

Each of the following chapters also offer new perspectives on the development of children's literature that are founded on this wide range of cheap texts. Chapter 3 engages with the domestic and the mother figure in cheap nineteenth-century children's fiction in a way that previous critics have never attempted. Very little criticism exists of mother figures in children's texts, or indeed of the domestic in general, as has been discussed by Lisa Rowe Fraustino and Karen Coats. What criticism there is tends to focus on canonical texts aimed at an adult readership. This thesis takes those discussions and tests them against cheap children's texts for the first time, and in the process demonstrates that while cheap texts do use many of the same tropes as more expensive texts, the change in intended readership creates a layer or irony, intentional or otherwise, that is not present in the canonical works. This offers a new perspective on the domestic and on the ways in which middle-class authors and gatekeepers engaged with a working-class readership by using the domestic sphere that previous critics have not explored. This new perspective also shows itself in Chapter 4's focus on representations of places abroad. By contrast to the domestic sphere, critics have heavily engaged with empire, adventure, and missionary work represented in children's texts.

However, where critics like Patrick Brantlinger have focused their arguments primarily on the end of the nineteenth century, often with an interest in representations of the African continent, this thesis demonstrates that cheap texts discussing places abroad were produced right across the century, and that Africa itself was rarely discussed when compared to stories set in the Pacific, in India, and in the Middle East.

Finally, Chapter 5 examines the use of the fantastical in cheap children's fiction across the nineteenth century. While previous critics such as Mary Thwaite have argued that *The Water-Babies* and *Alice in Wonderland* represent the beginning of the so-called 'Golden Age' in the history of children's literature, leading the way for other entertainment-focussed fantasies, this thesis shows that cheap fiction was using fantastical elements right from the start of the century, and continued to shy away from producing works of original fantasy (likely for a mixture of financial and moral reasons) until around two decades later. As a result, this thesis shows that immediate influence of these very expensive canonical texts on the general trends of the children's literature market have been exaggerated, at least where the cheapest and most accessible publications are concerned. In the end, the overall conclusion is that there is a level of conservatism within the cheap and popular market that resists the more experimental approaches of some of the canonical texts, and continues to rely heavily on the retellings of traditional stories, or repeats well known tropes over and over across the decades. This thesis ultimately demonstrates that while there was a change in the kinds of children's texts being produced over the course of the nineteenth century, when the wider scope of the cheap market is taken into account, it is clear that this change was slower and less extreme than has previously been argued.

The discovery of this conservatism only begins the work of understanding the cultural impact of these cheap texts. While each chapter examines a different area of cheap children's print, when considered together it is clear that these works present a set of ideas about the wider

world as well as about appropriate behaviour at home that was designed to encourage less affluent child readers to know and accept the current social, cultural, gender, and economic systems without question, regardless of whether that system directly benefitted them personally. These texts achieve this by situating child readers within the wider world. This is most obvious in moral, social, and economic terms, particularly in the number of both Type A and Type B texts (religious and moral didacticism respectively) printed across the century. However, it is also apparent when considering the implied child readers' place in the world in spatial terms, both along the home/work axis and globally, as British children who are part of the country that rules over the British Empire. Finally, this positioning also comes to the fore when considering reality and imagination in the kind of fantastical stories that are most commonly associated with traditional tales and are often tied to real and direct moral teachings. What exactly poorer child readers' place is in these terms is sometimes a little unclear, and their place changes across the century in some cases (the rise of more satirical, self-aware fantasy in the 1880s, for example, changes the previous stances of more moral fantastical texts). But the fact remains that the ideologies presented by and in these texts are rarely far from the surface of the tale, and almost always focus on teaching readers how to understand who they are supposed to be, and how they fit into a broader social, economic, and spatial order.

This project is, however, only the starting point for research into early cheap print for children. Covid-19 restrictions resulted in the corpus being less extensive than originally planned, and a larger scale study is still needed to confirm and expand upon the findings here. There is more work to be done in exploring periodicals in particular, as travel restrictions during the pandemic rendered it impossible to view many of the serial texts kept in archives, few of which are digitised. Equally, further studies committed to close readings of specific series or even individual texts from the corpus would allow for greater depth of understanding than was possible with this first attempt to compare a significant quantity of cheap print with the small

corpus previously used by historians. That said, as the first attempt to examine a previously unexplored set of texts, this thesis was never intended to provide the final word on any of them, but rather aims to open new avenues of conversation that are as yet unexplored.

Despite these restrictions, the corpus is wide-ranging, and thus statistically meaningful, and has given rise to some valuable insights. What proved to be remarkable about these cheap texts is how they compare to more expensive children's novels of the period, a number of which quickly became part of the children's literature canon. As discussed in the Introduction, Gillian Avery argues in *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction, 1770-1950* that for much of the nineteenth century, the difference between texts for the middle class and the poor were so great that they would not be able to understand one another's literature. Other critics, like Kimberley Reynolds in *Girls Only? Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910*, have since argued that there was often a cross-over in actual readership, but from the handful of cheap texts previously examined, there was little to suggest that Avery's premise, at least in terms of what was being published if not what was read, was incorrect. What my corpus reveals, however, is that while there is a difference between what was being published cheaply for the working classes compared to the more expensive texts available to the wealthy, the divide between them is not as absolute as was previously believed.

F. J. H. Darton began the first examination of children's print history, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, by dismissing almost all non-fictional or instructional works. As a result, even though his pioneering study examined a large number of texts, the gap left through the absence of these works has become very apparent. In addressing that gap, this study has shown that not only were these texts numerous and present throughout the nineteenth century, but also that they imparted both moral and religious lessons to children, and especially children of the poor, for decades. Later critics, most notably Patricia Demers in

Heaven upon Earth: The Form of Moral and Religious Children's Literature, to 1850, have examined some of these didactic texts, but separately from the main bulk of what was being produced for children across the nineteenth century. This study has addressed this oversight by combining didactic and non-fictional works with secular and non-didactic stories in order to provide a wider view of children's publishing overall without discriminating between different kinds of texts. Mary F. Thwaite's argument in *From Primer to Pleasure in Reading* that there was a sharp divide between texts intended to educate and texts intended to entertain had already been challenged by some critics, including Reynolds in *Girls Only?*. This study further probes Thwaite's findings by demonstrating that when a large sample is examined, multiple motivations for publishing works for children can be identified, and that these existed simultaneously, sometimes in the same story. The same is also true of Mary Jackson's focus on profit-making in the children's publishing industry: my research has shown that while certainly profit was the most pervasive incentive, it existed alongside other motivations, including ideological impetuses that permeate the texts themselves. This study has also challenged the assumptions of critics who have focussed exclusively on canonical authors and texts, including Humphrey Carpenter, whose biographical approach to understanding key texts by writers such as Lewis Carroll argues that they created an Arcadian version of childhood. In anonymous cheap texts, where such an approach was not possible, the same methods could not be used. Even so, it is immediately apparent that these texts do not reproduce the same childhood ideals, thereby calling attention to the limitations of a history of children's literature that manufactures a thesis based on the biographies of middle-class, canonical authors writing for children of their own class. By opening up the history of children's literature to the kind of inexpensive material in my corpus, this study has enlarged our understanding of the forces at work in the creation of children's literature in Britain. It has also brought the discussion of the wider history of children's literature into the twenty-first century, where previous research has

often relied on older critics. The majority of more recent studies, some of which were discussed in the Introduction, have been even more reticent about cheap children's print in the nineteenth century, and so any exploration of the field is forced to rely primarily on older criticism.

While consistency of messaging across the time period is a principal finding, examination of the corpus also highlights consistency in the kinds of material published, despite the volatility of an industry that regularly saw the rise and fall of individual publishing houses. So, for instance, didactic texts of both moral and religious kinds can be found across the century; the same tropes representing the home and family are used in the 1810s as in the 1880s; the ways in which the Middle East or Indian missionaries are discussed are remarkably consistent throughout the period, and retellings of fairy tales, and the ways in which particular elements such as fairies are used within a text, often read similarly in different parts of the century. While studies of more expensive texts demonstrate significant development in what was considered suitable for children at ideological and stylistic levels, cheap print tells a different story.

Consistency does not, of course, mean uniformity. The chapter examining religion in children's texts shows that didactic works continued to be produced well into the later nineteenth century, and that non-didactic texts were being published from its earliest decades. The examinations of images of places abroad in Chapter 4 and fantastical elements in Chapter 5 likewise reveal that certain stereotypes of different places as well as repeated tropes, such as talking animals and fairies, were produced and reused throughout the century. Similarly, Chapter 3 demonstrates that cheap texts favour the same ideals of the home, family, and the domestic from 1799 to 1890. But the didactic and non-didactic, the religious and secular, the domestic and adventures abroad, fantasy and realism, all existed simultaneously at any one time in the century. While there was certainly a change in how prominent each of these things was across the period – what I have called Type A and Type B texts fading out in favour of

Type D texts, for example – nevertheless, the broad range of material published and produced cheaply is notable through every decade. In that sense, drawing a simple history of these cheap texts is by no means a straightforward endeavour; so many different kinds of texts were being produced at once that only the size of the corpus makes it possible to discern general trends over time.

Although the texts in the corpus are greatly varied, they are tied together not merely by the market's desire for profit from simple, appealing texts made and sold cheaply, but also through the use and maintenance of particular imagological ideals in which middle-class investors, patrons, and critics had an invested interest. For example, while moral and religious didacticism does linger on in cheap fiction for far longer than in more expensive works, for the first half of the century works such as Sherwood's *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818, 1842, and 1847) utilise many of the same teaching methods as those displayed in cheap texts. Likewise, fantastical elements in cheap fiction appear long before the full-length novels of the 1860s, and while it happens later, cheap texts do eventually develop a sense of self-awareness and knowingness that directly impacts the reading of their moral lessons. Meanwhile, cheap domestic fiction uses the same tropes and representations of the ideals of family, motherhood, and the home as expensive novels for children, even if there is a difference in how those ideals are read due to the gap between the two expected readerships. Representations of places abroad also offer the use of stereotypes that paint a consistent, if inaccurate, map of the world which, while it focusses on different regions to those in canonical texts (Africa, for example, makes relatively little appearance within the corpus), would nevertheless be recognisable to wealthier child readers in terms of the imagological methods used to establish their settings. Put succinctly, there is certainly a gap between what the rich and the poor were reading, but it was not absolute, and neither did it necessarily render texts intended for one readership incomprehensible to the other.

The significance of this finding is rooted in how persistent the ideologies used within cheap children's texts were across the entire nineteenth century. The extended use of didactic texts, both moral and religious, indicates a reluctance to innovate within a space typically at risk of coming under scrutiny from wealthier patrons and critics. The repeated use of retellings of older texts, as well as a vast number of printed fairy tales and nursery rhymes, shows a reliance on works out of copyright in order to keep profit margins as large as possible. The fact that until late in the century there were a great many texts that were both didactic and fairy tales, as well as the existence of Type C texts (that mention religion but do not contain didactic elements), also reveals that there were not separate kinds of texts being published – one to appeal to middle-class critics and one to appeal to working-class readers – but rather that these two publishing impulses merged to produce texts designed for both audiences. Indeed, there is no serious evidence that working-class child readers did not enjoy their didactic literature, given the scope and longevity of its continued appearance in an industry focussed on turning a profit in order to keep publishing houses in business. Even so, these narrative changes – didactic and non-didactic, intrusive and non-intrusive narrators – are only the method through which ideology is imparted by the text, and the ideologies of non-didactic texts are rarely far removed from those expressed in the didactic. If what emerges when comparing Types A and B to Type D texts is a reluctance to question social norms clashing with a desire for profit, then the consistency of the ideologies displayed across all text types, as well as the appearances of all four types across the century, reveals that these two desires were by no means mutually exclusive.

The connection of morality and profit in children's literature is not a new revelation, of course, but the fact that these findings remain true not only with a small handful of texts but with a broad scope of cheap texts as well shows its consistency, and enlarges the scope of this argument to encompass texts and authors that have previously been unknown and/or

unexamined. Where on the surface there appears to be a split between 'good, moral texts' and 'imaginative, profit-focussed texts', in reality there was a great deal of cross-over between these two traditions. Our understanding of the history of children's literature is thus nuanced by the wide scope encompassed by this study.

A clear difference between cheap and expensive children's texts of the nineteenth century, then, is the way in which these cheaper texts lag behind the changes occurring in more expensive works. This is particularly evident when considering the long tail of religious and moral didacticism, and the late rise of satirical fantasy in cheap works when compared to full-length children's novels. That a single well-known innovation in literature often invites many emulators is hardly a new phenomenon: an obvious modern example is the *Twilight* series (first book published in 2005) leading to a surge in vampire YA fiction. What is remarkable here, however, is the gap in time between the original creation and the later cheap works. If, for example, cheap satirical fantasy fiction was attempting to profit from the popularity of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, why did these works not appear in the late 1860s, instead of over a decade later? It is only possible to speculate on the reasons at this point, though possible explanations would take account of working-class readers' lack of the extended education needed to be able to read the more complex texts of children's novels with confidence, and a continued reluctance on the part of philanthropic organisations to 'excite' working-class imaginations. Whatever the reasons, the effect is self-evident. There is, within nineteenth-century children's literature, a distinct hierarchy of acculturation which favours the dominant middle-class culture and attempts to assimilate the working-class child reader to it. As a result, cheaper fiction lags at least a generation behind the kinds of changes found in the more expensive works most historians of children's literature have studied.

Any one of the focuses for each chapter could provide the foundation for a full-length study: there is more to be said on religion, the domestic, representations of abroad, and fantasy,

not to mention didacticism, gender, class, and race, than there was space for here. Not only that, but there are many areas beyond the scope of this thesis. Chapter ideas that were not able to be included range from an examination of alcohol use and abuse through to an exploration of crime and punishment, and to an in-depth analysis of poetry in cheap children's texts. Aside from these, there are many other critical avenues to explore: my own readings here have not attempted, for example, psychoanalytical, postcolonial, queer, feminist, or linguistic studies of any of the texts. It would also be worthwhile to explore the corpus through the lens of any of the educational theorists that were popular at the time.

Even then, these thoughts on further study are still limited to the content of the texts themselves. Archival restrictions over the pandemic rendered me unable to access any of the publisher's records held in the Bodleian or the British Libraries, or elsewhere, and these would offer an invaluable insight into the publishing history of the period. Such records might have shed further light on motivations for publishing different works than this text-focussed study was able to do. There is also a vast quantity of paratextual data that there was not the time to examine here: exploring the entire corpus with a focus on illustrations would certainly be a fruitful endeavour, as would be a study of the advertisements attached to and printed on these texts. Another chapter could also have been devoted to different styles of covers, exploring colour, title text, illustration, and material. I have incorporated some discussion concerning paratexts into this study, mostly in terms of illustrations or examining advertisements for price or illustrations, but these moments of interest barely scratch the surface of these areas, and far more work can yet be done exploring the visual and physical aspects of these texts. Expanding the scope of the study outside of the written word would provide a great deal of insight into the history of the entire children's publishing industry.

Furthermore, while this thesis was concerned primarily with comparing these unknown cheap texts to those expensive children's novels that had previously been examined, it is now

possible to begin comparing the differences between cheap texts themselves. For example, taking a decade of cheap texts produced by two different publishers and comparing trends would be a fascinating study, as would focussing on changes within a single publisher across as much of the nineteenth century as possible. It would also be worthwhile to compare cheap print for children with cheap print for adults. Were they concerned with similar issues, or facing the same restrictions, or were they so far removed that one never speaks to the other? Answering any of these questions would provide further insight into the history of the working classes, and working-class print that is currently missing.

This study also deliberately avoided discriminating between particular physical formats and publishers' categories, in order to provide a broad view of trends across the entire cheap publishing industry. But with these trends now established, deeper examinations in specific areas will provide more nuanced understanding. Children's chapbooks have received some critical attention, but toy books remain relatively neglected. So too non-fictional children's tracts, which would also provide another area of study that would supplement the work already done by Patricia Demers. Reward books, too, have been explored by a small handful of pioneering critics, but the cheapest kinds can only benefit from further attention. Likewise, examining how different genres of texts represent ideologies – is there a difference, for example between how toy books and chapbooks discuss the domestic sphere, or how tracts and reward books represent race – would add detail and insights to the findings here. Finally, this study was restricted to works published within Britain. Examining how the history of British cheap children's print compares to the US, or Canada, or France, or Germany, or Ireland, or were exported around the globe through colonial, missionary, and commercial networks, would provide valuable insight into how cheap children's literature was deployed to serve global agendas, and how different cultures impart their ideologies to children through their literature.

The main achievement of this thesis has been to bring to light and examine a new body of work that had previously gone unexplored, and in doing so it widens the critical perspective on the history of children's print. By moving away from the small handful of canonical works, or the hundred or so texts repeatedly referred to in children's print histories, this study has shown that while there was an inherent conservatism within cheap children's texts across the nineteenth century, these texts were also widely varied, encompassing many different topics. Didactic and non-didactic, realist and fantastical, religious and secular texts, all existed simultaneously alongside one another, revealing an investment on the part of authors, publishers, and critics in imparting specific ideologies to less affluent children through their literature. In the end, it is this consistency across time, narrative style, and genres, combined with the wide range of texts available at once, that provides a new basis for future examinations of nineteenth-century cheap children's books.

Works Cited

Primary Sources from the Corpus

For ease of access, texts have been arranged first by the platform on which I encountered them, and thus where they can be found by other researchers, and then alphabetically by title. Details concerning each entry are either taken directly from the text itself, or from catalogue information available from the holding institution. Where possible, additional information such as size, page numbers, illustrations, and price are given, though this has not been possible with every text.

Title:

Texts are organised alphabetically by title, using the standard set by the MLA style guide.

Author and Illustrator:

When an author is provided, their name is given after the title. Texts with a pseudonym for which the author or illustrator's name is unknown have the author given in quotation marks. In cases when an author is identified only by reference to another work they have written, this other title attributed to them is given.

Publishers and Locations:

Publisher names are given as they appear on the text (e.g., "G. Routledge", "George Routledge", "Routledge", or "George Routledge & Co.") or in the archival catalogue. Where multiple publishers or locations are referenced on the text, they are listed separated by semi-colons.

Dates:

Date ranges taken from catalogues have been left in their original format, e.g. 'c. 1814-1856', indicating that the work was probably published between 1814 and 1856, or '187-', meaning

that it was likely published between 1870 and 1879. When a catalogue gives a single estimated year of publication, they have been noted with ‘c’.

Size Dimensions:

Size dimensions are taken from catalogue information, which sometimes offers two sides (e.g. ‘10 x 7 cm’) and sometimes one (e.g. ‘8 cm’). All measurements have been converted into centimetres.

Illustrations:

Where illustrations are present in the text, they are indicated as being in colour or black and white (or both, or monotone with another colour) in square brackets. Where the type of illustration has been specified (e.g. ‘woodcut’ or ‘copper plate’) either in the text or the archival record, it is given inside the brackets following the colour type, after a colon. For the Opie Collection, the difficulty of deciphering some of the microfiche on which the collection has been consulted has resulted in illustrations not being noted.

Price:

Comparatively few texts provide price indications. Where they are listed, they have been recorded in shillings (*s*) and pence (*d*). Thus1d is one penny; 1s is one shilling; 1/2d is a halfpenny, and 1/4d is a farthing.

Text Link:

Web page addresses are cited for texts taken from digital archives.

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Baldwin Collection (University of Florida, Florida, USA)

The ABC of Horses. Illustrated by Harry Payne. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London, c. 1880. 28 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025345/00001.

Abroad. Written by Thomas Frederick Crane, illustrated by Ellen Elizabeth Houghton. Marcus Ward & Co., London; Belfast; New York, 1882. 22 cm, 56 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049821/00001/1j.

Adventures of Puffy. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge & Co., London, c. 1876. 25 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028330/00001/1j.

The Adventures of Two Children. Illustrated by Mary Ellen Edwards. Hildesheimer and Faulkner, London, 1884. 15 cm, 56 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053162/00001/1j.

Alice and her Pupil. RTS, London, c. 1869-1879. 13 cm, 66 pages, 1 illustration, 3d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00014925/00001/1j.

Almanack for 1883. Written by Kate Greenaway. George Routledge & Co., London, 1883. 10.3 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00050307/00001/1j.

Almanack for 1884. Written by Kate Greenaway. George Routledge & Co., London, 1884. 10.3 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053426/00001/1j.

Almanack for 1885. Written by Kate Greenaway. George Routledge & Co., London, 1885. 10.3 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053413/00001/1j.

Almanack for 1886. Written by Kate Greenaway. George Routledge & Co., London, 1886. No size dimensions given, 22 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053742/00001.

Almanack for 1887. Written by Kate Greenaway. George Routledge & Co., London, 1887. 10.3 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053739/00001.

The Alphabet of Virtues. Darton & Co., London, 1856. 15 cm, 29 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003027/00001/1j.

Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales: Patty and her Pitcher. Written by "Aunt Mavor". G. Routledge & Co., London; New York, 1857. 18 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 6d or 1s coloured. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003015/00001/1j.

Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales: The Giant and the Dwarf; or, Strength and Reason. Written by "Aunt Mavor". G. Routledge & Co., London; New York, 1857. 18 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 6d or 1s coloured. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003016/00001/1j.

Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales: The Giant Hands; or, The Reward of Industry. Written by "Aunt Mavor". G. Routledge & Co., London; New York, 1857. 18 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white], 6d or 1s coloured. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00000419/00001/1j.

Alfred Crowquill's Fairy Tales: The Selfish Man; or, The World's Teaching. Written by "Aunt Mavor". G. Routledge & Co., London; New York, 1857. 18 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white], 6d or 1s coloured. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003004/00001/1j.

All Round the Year. Written by E. Nesbit, illustrated by H. Bellingham Smith. von Portheim & Co., London, c. 1880. 15 x 22 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025801/00001/1j.

Anderson's Fairy Tales: The Stork. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1880. 21 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00048431/00001/1j.

Animals Tame and Wild. S. W. Partridge & Co., London, c. 187-. 27 x 32 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026670/00001/1j.

Annie and Jack in London. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge & Co., London, 1869. 25 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00082161/00001/1j.

The Apricot-Tree. SPCK, London, 1851. 14 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065153/00001/1j.

As the Months Go By. Written by Annie Matheson, illustrated by E. R. Hughes. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London; Paris; New York, c. 1888. 25 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00079893/00001/1j.

At Home. Written by Thomas Crane, illustrated by J. G. Sowerby. Marcus Ward & Co., London; Belfast, c. 1881. 22 cm, 56 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049068/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Coloured Gift Books: Bible Picture Books. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1887. 27 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055363/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Comicalities: Humorous Pictures by Major Seccombe. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023584/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Alphabet of Fruits. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023599/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Bruin the Bear. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1873. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027072/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Childhood's Delight. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023603/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Childhood's Playtime. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 23 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023602/00001.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Cinderella. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023912/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Courtship, Marriage, Death and Burial of Cock Robin. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023897/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Dick Wittington. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027059/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Edith and Milly's Housekeeping. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023896/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Famous Horses. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049852/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Good Children. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023924/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Hector the Dog. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026613/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Hey Diddle Diddle. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. 26 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023923/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Hop o' my Thumb. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 23 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023904/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Lily Sweet-Briar's Birthday. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 38 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023927/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: My Children. Frederick Warne & Co., London, 1873. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027075/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: My Dog Tray. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 23 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023907/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Nursery Rhymes. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023919/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Old Nursery Rhymes. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s or 2 mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023901/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Play Hours. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023900/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Punch and Judy. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 23 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023911/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Puss in Boots. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023906/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Pussy's London Life. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023891/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Railway A.B.C. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1875. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028225/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Red Riding Hood. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 20 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023893/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Sea Side. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1875. No size dimensions given, 27 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023918/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: Sing a Song of Six-Pence. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1875. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023917/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: The Farm Yard Hunt. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1875. 26 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049849/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: The Zoological Gardens. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1875. No size dimensions given, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028219/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Playtime Toy Books: Our Farm Friends ABC. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 14 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023915/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Picture Puzzle Alphabet. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023597/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books: Children of the New Testament. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 23 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023916/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books: Joseph and his Brethren. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1875. No size dimensions given, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028218/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books: The Parables of Our Lord. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023914/00001/1j.

Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books: The Proverbs of Solomon. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 23 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023913/00001/1j.

Aunt Mavor's Everlasting Toy Books: Hop o' my Thumb. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions, 9 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024352/00001/1j.

Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: Happy Days of Childhood. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 20 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024354/00001/1j.

Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: History of Bluebeard. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024351/00001/1j.

Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: Hop o' my Thumb. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024388/00001/1j.

Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: The Good Boys' and Girls' Alphabet. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 11 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024358/00001/1j.

Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: The House that Jack Built. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024353/00001/1j.

Aunt Primrose's Library: March's Nursery Tales. J. March, London, 1855. 18 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 2d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00016245/00001/1j.

A was an Archer. Ernest Nister; E. P. Dutton, London; New York, c.1880. No size dimensions given, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025820/00001/1j.

Baa Baa Black Sheep. Illustrated by E. Caldwell. Marcus Ward & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions, 12 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023481/00001.

Baby Dot's ABC. RTS, London, 1880. No size measurements given, 15 pages, illustrated [black and white] plus 1 page of music, 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024363/00001/1j.

Baby's Book of Fables. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880-1889. 33 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026015/00001/1j.

The Baby's Debut. Thos. De la Rue & Co., London, c. 1880. 24 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025976/00001/1j.

The Baby's Friend. W. H. Dunkley, London; Manchester; Birmingham, 1885. 22 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053766/00001/1j.

Behind the Bars at the Zoo. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 15 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024367/00001/1j.

Bible Picture Book: Old Testament. SPCK, London, c. 1870. 15 x 19 cm, 59 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023497/00001/1j.

Bible Pictures for Our Pets. Illustrated by Selous, Staniland, Webb, Watson, Harris Weir, Downard, Dore and "other well-known artists". RTS, London, c. 1877. 27 cm, 74 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00035148/00001/1j.

Blue and Red; or, The Discontented Lobster. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, 1883. 24 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055030/00001/1j.

A Book About Animals. RTS, London, c. 1852. 18 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white: plates]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00002226/00001/1j.

A Book About Birds. RTS, London, 1865. 19 cm, 83 pages, illustrated [colour: plates]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00015696/00001/1j.

Book of Fairy Tales. Ward, Lock and Co., London; New York, c. 1880.No size dimensions given, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024995/00001/1j.

Boots at the Holly Tree Inn. Written by Charles Dickens, illustrated by James Carter Beard. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London; Paris; New York, c. 1882. 25 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00052996/00001/1j.

British Heroism; or, Biographical Memoirs of some of those Renowned Commanders who have Extended the Glory of the British Nation to the Remotest Parts of the World. J. Wallis, London, 1800. 10 cm, 69 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00034735/00001/1j.

Buttercups and Daisies and other Pretty Flowers. Illustrated by William Dickes. SPCK, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024360/00001/1j.

The Butterfly's Ball. Written by William Roscoe. No publisher given, c. 1860. 25 cm, 19 pages, illustrated [colour] plus 2 pages of music scores. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003355/00001/1j.

Buzz A Buzz; or, The Bees. Written by William Busch, translated from German by William Charles Cotton. Griffith & Farran; Phillipson & Golder, London; Chester, 1872. 22 cm, 93 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026295/00001/1j.

Capitals of Europe. J. S. Publishing and Stationary Co., Otley, c. 185-. 17 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00015221/00001/1j.

The Careless Chicken. Written by "Krakemsides", illustrated by Alfred Henry Forrester. Grant and Griffith; Evans and Brittan, London; New York, c. 1853. 25 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 75 cents (publisher listed as being in London, but all prices are given in cents). http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003461/00001/1j.

Cassell's Shilling Toy Books: The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Cassell Petter & Galpin, London; New York, c. 1868-1878. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00073565/00001/1j.

The Cat's Pilgrimage. Written by James Anthony Froude, illustrated by "J. B.". Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh, 1870. 29 cm, 25 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00063830/00001/1j.

Children's Friend Series: John Oriel's Start in Life. Written by Mary Howitt. Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, London, c. 1871. 21 cm, 68 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055502/00001/1j.

Children's Popular Tales: Children in the Wood. Dean & Son, London, c. 185-. 14 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour], 2d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00015218/00001/1j.

The Children's Posy: A Picture Story Book. Written by Charlotte Maria Tucker, illustrated by William Small. T. Nelson & Sons, London; New York, 1879. 29 cm, 74 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049584/00001/1j.

The Children's Wreath: A Picture Story Book. Written by Charlotte Maria Tucker, illustrated by William Small. T. Nelson & Sons, London; New York, c. 1879. 29 cm, 74 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049585/00001/1j.

The Child's Illustrated Scripture Series, Part I: From the Creation of the World to the Death of Moses. Illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 18 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00048500/00001/1j.

The Child's Illustrated Scripture Series, Part 2: Judges, Ruth and Kings. Illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 18 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00048499/00001/1j.

Child's Picture Alphabet. T. Nelson & Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024997/00001/1j.

The Child's Treasury of Knowledge and Amusement: or, Reuben Ramble's Picture Lessons. Darton & Co., London, 1859. 22 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003479/00001/1j.

Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper. J. Catnach, London, 1840. 18 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065360/00001/1j.

The Cinderella Series: Dick Whittington. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024996/00001/1j.

Clever Hans, by the Brothers Grimm. Illustrated by J. Lawson. Thomas De La Rue & Co., London, c. 1880. 24 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025342/00001/1j.

Cock Robin and Jenny Wren. J. S. Publishing and Stationary Co., Otley, 1855. 17 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00015264/00001/1j.

Colonial Alphabet for the Nursery. Goode Bros, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025026/00001/1j.

Coloured Toy Books: The Story of a Pie. RTS, London, 1878. 25 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049086/00001/1j.

The Conceited Pig. Illustrated by Harrison Weir. John and Charles Mozley, London, 1852. 15 cm, 44 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00002228/00001/1j.

Convalescence. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, 1885. 16 x 18 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054268/00001/1j.

The Cruise of the Walnut Shell. Written and illustrated by R. Andre. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London, 1880. 25 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026018/00001/1j.

The Daisy Chain: A Picture Story Book for Children. Written by Charlotte Maria Tucker, illustrated by William Small. T. Nelson & Sons, London; New York, 1880. 28 cm, 90 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023576/00001/1j.

Darton's Picture Story Book. Illustrated by Harris Weir. Darton & Co., c. 1852. 18 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00002252/00001/1j.

A Day with the Harriers. Written by F. C. Burnand, illustrated by W. J. Hodgson. Hildesheimer and Faulkner, London, c. 1885. 19 x 24 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053689/00001/1j.

Dean's Artistic Series: Who Killed Cock Robin? Dean and Son, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 17 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025027/00001/1j.

Dean's Charming Graphic Alphabet Series: Prince Arthur's Alphabet. Dean and Son, London, c. 1870. 24 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026614/00001/1j.

Dean's Favorite [sic] Nursery Series: The Children's Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper. Dean & Son, London, c. 1875. No size dimensions given, 12 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028227/00001.

Dean's Giant Penny Popular Series: My Toy ABC. Dean and Son, London, c. 1880. 23 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023588/00001/1j.

Dean's Infantile Oil Colour Toy Books: Little Red Riding-Hood. Dean & Son, London, 1873. 30 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027063/00001/1j.

Dean's Twopenny Chromo Toy Books: The Three Tiny Pigs. Dean and Son, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 16 pages, illustrated [colour], 2d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023480/00001/1j.

Dean and Son's Children's Pantomime Toy Books: Aladdin. Illustrated by Walter Crane. Dean and Son, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 19 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023493/00001/1j.

Dean and Son's Coloured Sixpenny Toy Books: Johnny Gilpin. Dean & Son, London, c. 1840. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065416/00001/1j.

Delights of Childhood. Cassell & Co., London; Paris; Melbourne; New York, c. 1889. 25 cm, 83 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065434/00001/1j.

The Diverting History of the Three Blind Mice. Marcus Ward & Co., London; Belfast; New York, 1887. 15 x 18 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour] plus 6 pages of music scores. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00056252/00001/1j.

Doll's Housekeeping. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1886. 16 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black, white, and blue]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055006/00001/1j.

The Doll's Wash. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1883. 16 x 18 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054289/00001/1j.

Dottie's Pets. Written by "E.O.A. and C & C", illustrated by T. H. Collins. Dean & Son, London, c. 1885. 19 cm, 44 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053978/00001.

Dolly's Doings. Illustrated by E. Paterson. W. Hagelberg, London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 30 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025031/00001/1j.

Dreams, Dances, and Disappointments. Written by Gertrude A. Konstam, illustrated by Ella and Nella Casella. Thomas De La Rue & Co., London, c. 1880. 24 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025330/00001/1j.

The Earlham Series: Old Moses. S. W. Partridge & Co., London, c. 1867. 12 cm, 16 pages, no illustrations. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055342/00001/1j.

Early Piety; or, Memoirs of Children Eminently Serious: interspersed with Familiar Dialogues, Emblematic Pictures, Prayers, Graces, and Hymns. Written by Rev. George Burder. Henry Mozley, Derby, 1816. 13 cm, 80 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodblock prints], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00021487/00001/1j.

The Elementary Catechisms: Sanitation: The Means of Health. Groombridge and Sons, London, 1851. 14 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [black and white], 4d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00001929/00001/1j.

Eyebright: A Fairy Tale. Illustrated by Charles Keene and “S. B.”. C. J. Jacob, Basingstoke, 1862. 18 cm, 42 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003277/00001/1j.

The Fairy Horn. Written and illustrated by S. Theyre Smith. Thomas De La Rue & Co., London, c. 1880. 24 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025977/00001/1j.

The Faithful Friend. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 23 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023895/00001/1j.

The Farm and its Scenes. Grant and Griffith, London, 1852. 17 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s coloured. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00002227/00001/1j.

Father Tuck's Little Pets Series: My Zoo ABC. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London; New York, c. 1890. No size dimensions given, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00080493/00001/1j.

Father Tuck's Little Pets Series: The Three Little Pigs. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London; New York, c. 1890. No size dimensions given, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00080491/00001/1j.

Father Tuck's Little Pets Series: Three Little Kittens. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025011/00001/1j.

Father Tuck's Play and Pleasure Series: Little Snowdrop. Raphael Tuck & Sons, London; New York, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00086821/00001/1j.

The First Lie. Written by Emma Marshall. John W. Parker, London, 1840. 14 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065354/00001/1j.

Five Minute Stories. Written by Mary Louisa Molesworth. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1888. 32 cm, 96 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055489/00001/1j.

Flora's Feast. Written and illustrated by Walter Crane. Cassell & Co., London; Paris; New York, 1889. 26 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065438/00001/1j.

Gall and Inglis Scripture Picture Books: Daniel and his Three Friends. Gall and Inglis, Edinburgh, c. 1874. No size measurements given, 12 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted on linen. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028235/00001/images/11.

Gertie's Sunflower. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1881-1882. 15 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053194/00001/1j.

A Gift to Young Friends; or, The Guide to Good. Written by Julia Corner. Dean and Munday, London, c. 184-. 16 cm, 63 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065542/00001/1j.

Good Boys. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, London, 1866. 22 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00004060/00001/1j.

The Good Dogs who Always Did as they were Told. T. Nelson & Sons, London, 1874. 28 cm, 11 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028234/00001/1j.

The Good Man of the Mill: Mostly in Words of One Syllable. Written by Julia Corner. Dean & Son, London, 1855. 12 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00002652/00001/1j.

Good Times for the Little Ones. Written by Mary D. Brine. Cassel & Co., London; Paris; Melbourne; New York, c. 1887. 25 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055347/00001/1j.

Goody Goodchild's Series: Boys' Book of Sports. Dean & Son, London, c. 1840. 25 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065174/00001/1j.

Gordon Browne's Series of Old Fairy Tales: Hop o' my Thumb. Blackie & Son, London; Glasgow, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 32 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025018/00001/1j.

Grammar in Rhyme. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1872. 25 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s cloth bound. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026638/00001/1j.

Grandmamma Easy's Pretty Stories about Elephants. Dean & Co., London, c. 1840. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065368/00001/1j.

Grandmamma Easy's Travels of Matty Macaroni the Little Organ Boy. Dean & Co., London, c. 1840. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065367/00001/1j.

Grandmamma Easy's Wonders of a Toy-Shop. Dean & Co., London, c. 1840. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065366/00001/1j.

Grandpapa Easy's Amusing Addition: A New Poetical Number Book. Dean & Co., London, c. 1840. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065365/00001/1j.

Grandpapa Easy's Little Pig's Ramble: From Home. Dean & Co., London, c. 1840. No size dimensions given, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065378/00001/1j.

Gulliver's Travels in the Kingdom of Lilliput. T. Nelson & Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1880. 29 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025808/00001/1j.

The Happy Family and Other Stories. T. Nelson & Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, 1876. 16 cm, 35 pages, illustrated [black and white], 15 cents (printed in London as well, but prices all give in cents). http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028334/00001/1j.

Here's Fun! Scraps from the Old Screen. Written by E. F. Manning. S. Hildesheimer and Co. Ltd., London; Manchester, c. 1880. 16 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00048441/00001/1j.

Histories; or, Tales of Past Times, told by Mother Goose. Philip Rose, Bristol, 1800. 14 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00021470/00001/1j.

The History of an Apple Pie. Written by "Z". Darton & Co., London, c. 1845. 25 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00063909/00001/1j.

The History of Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper. Orlando Hodgson, London, c. 1835. 14 cm, 36 pages, no illustrations, 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00058536/00001/1j.

The History of Joseph. Reed and Pardon, London, 1857. 19 cm, 44 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003291/00001/1j.

The History of Samuel. RTS, London, 1858. 19 cm, 40 pages, no illustrations. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00004597/00001/1j.

The Holy Child. Illustrated by Paul Mohn. SPCK, London, c, 1886. 31 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055396/00001/1j.

The Horkey. Written by Robert Bloomfield, illustrated by George Cruikshank. Macmillan & Co., London, 1882. 25 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00052993/00001/1j.

How the Fairy Violet Lost and Won her Wings. Written by Marianne L. B. Ker. Griffith and Farran, London, 1872. 15 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white], 4d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026259/00001/1j.

Idle Ann; or, The Dunce Reclaimed. Written by Mary Elliott. William Darton, London, c. 1825. 14 cm, 38 pages, illustrated [black and white: copperplates], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027076/00001/1j.

Imps. Written by Catherine Seton Flint. Marcus Ward & Co., London; Belfast; New York, c. 1889. 15 x 17 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00056233/00001/1j.

In and Out. Written by Ismay Thorn, illustrated by Lily Chitty. W. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., London, c. 1882. 23 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00050328/00001/1j.

Inmates of Our Home. Written by Lucy Sale-Barker, illustrated by A. W. Cooper. George Routledge & Sons, London; Glasgow; New York, 1888. 19 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055863/00001/1j.

Jenny Jingle's Little Prattler. A. Park, London, c. 1855. 27 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00000166/00001/1j.

Jessamine and her Lesson Books, and Why She Was Late for Gipsy Tea. Written by Caroline Birley. Skeffington & Son, London, 1887. 16 cm, 44 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055306/00001/1j.

John Dick's Nursery Tales: The Story of John Gilpin. John Dicks, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 10 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025021/00001/1j.

Jumbo's Picture Book of Natural History. Illustrated by F. Specht. George Routledge & Sons, London; New York, 1883. 37 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053188/00001/1j.

The King of Root Valley and his Curious Daughter: A Fairy Tale. Written by R. Reinick, illustrated by T. von Oer and R. Reinick. Chapman and Hall, London, 1856. 25 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003103/00001/1j.

Laugh and Grow Wise. Written by "The Senior Owl of Hall". Griffith and Farran, London, c. 1865. 25 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00015773/00001/1j.

Law Among the Birds: The Frog Who Would A-Wooing Go. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, London, c. 1864. 22 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003440/00001/1j.

The Leadenhall Press Series of Forgotten Picture Books for Children: Deborah Dent and her Donkey. Field and Tuer, London, 1887. 18 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054402/00001/1j.

The Legend of Sir Juvenis. Written by George Halse, illustrated by Gordon Browne. Hamilton, Adams, & Co., London, 1886. 17 x 22 cm, 46 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054539/00001/1j.

Little Dot Series: Olive Crowhurst: A Story for Girls. RTS, London, c. 1880. 16 cm, 66 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00048454/00001/1j.

Little Dot Series: Rachel Rivers; or, What a Child May Do. Written by A. L. Morse. RTS, London, c. 1875. 16 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053018/00001/1j.

Little Dot Series: Soldier Sam and Lillie's Dream. Written by "the author of The Travelling Sixpence, Lost and Rescued, etc.". RTS, London, c. 1880. 16 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049845/00001/1j.

Little Dot Series: Show Your Colours and Other Stories. RTS, London, c. 1880. 16 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00047790/00001/1j.

Little Dot Series: Talks with Uncle Morris; or, The Friend of my Boyhood. Written by "Old Humphrey". RTS, London, c. 1880. 16 cm, 66 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00077425/00001/1j.

Little Dot Series: The Runaways. RTS, London, c.1880. 16 cm, 68 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065481/00001/1j.

Little Dot Series: The Two Roses. Written by "the author of Lucy Miller's Good Work, The Travelling Sixpence, etc.". RTS, London, c. 1880. 16 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053290/00001/1j.

Little Freddie's School Days. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1881. 15 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00048427/00001/1j.

The Little Painter. John Cooke & Sons, London, c. 1880. 17 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023487/00001/1j.

Little Tottie's Travels with Papa and Mama. Ward, Lock & Tyler, London, c. 1880. 25 c, 13 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025331/00001/1j.

The Magic Ring. Illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, 1884. 18 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053295/00001/1j.

Marcus Ward's Japanese Picture Books: Abu Hassan; or, Caliph for the Day. Marcus Ward & Co., London; Belfast, c. 1880. 27 cm, 9 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025332/00001/1j.

Marcus Ward's Royal Illuminated Nursery Rhymes: The Carrion Crow. Verses written by Francis Davis, music by B. Hossen Carroll. Illustrated by Marcus Ward. W. P. Nimmo, Edinburgh, c. 1880. 14 x 20 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour] plus 2 pages of music notation, 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023591/00001/1j.

Marcus Ward's Royal Illuminated Nursery Stories: Little Bo Peep. Verses written by Francis Davis, music by B. Hossen Carroll. Illustrated by Marcus Ward. W. P. Nimmo, Edinburgh, c. 1880. 14 x 20 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour] plus 1 page of music notation, 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023590/00001/1j.

Marcus Ward's Royal Illuminated Nursery Stories: The Little Market Woman. Verses written by Francis Davis, music by B. Hossen Carroll. Illustrated by Marcus Ward. W. P. Nimmo, Edinburgh, c. 1880. 14 x 20 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour] plus 1 page of music notation, 6d. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023589/00001/images/13.

The May-Blossom; or, The Princess and her People. Written by Marion M. Wingrave, illustrated by H. H. Emmerson. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1881. 25 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049065/00001/1j.

Memoirs of a Country Doll. Written by Mary Curtis, illustrated by D. O. Johnston. James Monroe & Co., Cambridge, 1853. 18 cm, 84 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003517/00001/1j.

The Men of Ware. Written by F. E. Weatherly, illustrated by W. J. Hodgson. Hildesheimer and Faulkner, London, c. 1880. 19 x 24 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025978/00001/1j.

My Coloured Picture Story Book. RTS, London, c. 1884. 25 cm, 76 pages, illustrated [colour: plates]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053672/00001/1j.

Nelson's Picture Books for Children, New Series of Coloured Picture-Books: Pictures for Pets with Rambling Rhymes. T. Nelson, London, c. 1870.28 cm, 13 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026627/00001/1j.

Nelson's Picture Books for the Nursery: Nursery Rhymes. Illustrated by Alfred Crowquill. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, c. 1880. 26 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025336/00001/1j.

New Series of Coloured Picture Books: Little Red Riding Hood. T. Nelson & Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1870. 28 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026620/00001/1j.

New Series of Sixpenny Books, Stories with a Purpose: The Old Castle and Other Stories. T. Nelson and Sons, London; New York, 1881. 16 cm, 70 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026228/00001/1j.

New Series Toy Books: The Lost Lamb. RTS, London, c. 1880. 27 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00017310/00001/1j.

Nursery Rhymes. Ernest Nister; E. P. Dutton & Co., London; New York, c. 1884. 17 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053291/00001/1j.

An Old Story of Bethlehem: One Link in the Great Pedigree. Written by "the author of Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family". SPCK, London, c. 1887. 21 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour], http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00082686/00001/1j.

Oil Colour Picture Books: The Pilgrim's Progress for the Young. Dean and Son, London, c. 1872. 31 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00066158/00001/1j.

The Old Corner Series: Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog. Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, London, c. 1888. 21 cm, 25 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00080030/00001/1j.

The Old Farm Gate. Edited by Evelyn Cunningham Geikie. George Routledge and Sons, London; New York, c. 1882. 18 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053010/00001/1j.

Old Mother Goose's Rhymes and Tales. Illustrated by Constance Haslewood. Frederick Warne and Co., London; New York, 1889. 19 cm, 80 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065343/00001/1j.

One, Two, Buckle My Shoe. Illustrated by "E. R. B.". Hamilton, Adams, & Co.; Edmonston & Douglas, London; Edinburgh, 1857. 27 cm, 25 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003514/00001/1j.

Our Country House. Illustrated by Julius Kleinmichel. George Routledge and Sons, London; Glasgow; New York, c. 1888. 28 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055878/00001/1j.

Our Father's Care. Written by Elizabeth Sewell. Jarrold, London, c. 1870.27 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. https://original-ufdc.uflib.ufl.edu/UF00026662/00001/citation?search=father%27s+%3dcare.

Our Four-Footed Friends and Favourites. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1890. 27 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00080724/00001/1j.

P. T. Barnum's Menagerie. Written by P. T. Barnum and Sarah J. Burke. White & Allen, London; New York, c. 1888. 32 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055777/00001/1j.

Parks Library of Instruction and Amusement: Amusing Tales. A. Park, London, c. 1840. 19 x 22 cm, 4 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065173/00001/1j.

Peeps of Home, and Homely Joys, of Youth, and Age, of Girls and Boys. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, 1870. 18 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055897/00001/1j.

The Penny Work-Away Songster. Edited by J. Erskine Clarke. Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, London; New York, 1860. 12 cm, 64 pages, no illustrations, 1d or 2d cloth lined. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003346/00001/1j.

Perseus the Gorgon Slayer. Written by W. J. Gordon, illustrated by T. R. Pence. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, London, c. 1883. 26 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053676/00001/1j.

Pictorial Proverbs for Little People. SPCK, London, c. 1890. 23 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00077435/00001/1j.

Picture Alphabet. Publisher unknown, London, c. 1863. 21 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00004439/00001/1j.

Picture Alphabet of Beasts. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1875. 28 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00004434/00001/1j.

Picture Alphabet of Nations of the World. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh, 1874. 29 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00004442/00001/1j.

The Picture Book of Wild Animals. SPCK, London, c. 1870. 24 x 29 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065464/00001/1j.

Picture Puzzle Toy Books: Our Dollies. Frederick Warne and Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 27 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025815/00001/1j.

Picture Rhymes of Happy Times. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1880. 27 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025991/00001/1j.

The Pied Piper of Hamelin. Written by Robert Browning, illustrated by Kate Greenaway. George Routledge and Sons, London; Glasgow; New York, c. 1888. 26 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055783/00001/1j.

Pinnock's Catechisms: Part II of the History of America; Containing an Account of the British Possessions, and the Republic of the United States, &C. Pinnock and

Maunder, London, 1818. 14 cm, 73 pages, illustrated [black and white], 9d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00021484/00001/1j.

Playmates. Written by “Mabel”, illustrated by George Lambert. Frederick Warne & Co.; A. C. Armstrong & Son, London; New York, c. 1887. 15 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055003/00001/1j.

Playtime Toy Books: Nursery Rhymes. Frederick Warne and Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 28 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025811/00001/1j.

Playtime Toy Books: Our Horses. Frederick Warne and Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 28 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025810/00001/1j.

Poems of Child Life and Country Life in Six Books: Our Garden. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1885. 16 x 18 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054269/00001/1j.

Poems of Child Life and Country Life in Six Books: The Poet and the Brook. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK, London; New York, 1885. 16 x 18 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054273/00001/1j.

Poppy's Presents. Written by Amy Catherine Walton. RTS, London, c. 1886. 18 cm, 96 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055320/00001/1j.

Proverbs with Pictures. Illustrated by Charles H. Bennett. William Tegg & Co., London, 1877. 26 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00047796/00001/1j.

The Queen's Gift Series: The Fairy's Gift. Written by M. Johnson. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1883. 17 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00052981/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: A Frog He Would A-Wooing Go. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 188-. 21 x 24 cm, 56 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024983/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: An Elegy on a Mad Dog. G. Routledge, London; New York, c. 1885-1892. 14 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054518/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: Hey Diddle Diddle and Baby Bunting. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1882. 21 x 24 cm, 26 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049820/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: Ride a Cock Horse to Banbury Cross and A Farmer Went Trotting upon his Grey Mare. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024782/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: Sing a Song of Sixpence. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. G. Routledge & Co., London, c. 1880. 23 x 20.5 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024986/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The Babes in the Wood. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. G. Routledge & Co., London, c. 1880. 23 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024984/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The Diverting History of John Gilpin. Written by William Cowper, illustrated by R. Caldecott. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1878. 23.5 x

20.5 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049085/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The Fox Jumps Over the Parson's Gate. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1883. 21 x 24 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053447/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The Great Panjandrum Himself. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1885. 21 x 24 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053691/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The House that Jack Built. G. Routledge & Co., London, 1878. 24 x 21 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049082/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The Milkmaid. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1882. 21 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024985/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The Three Jovial Huntsmen. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. George Routledge, London, 1880. 23 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024362/00001/1j.

R. Caldecott's Picture Books: The Queen of Hearts. Illustrated by R. Caldecott. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024361/00001/1j.

A Ramble in Autumn. Written by Rev. C. A. Johns. SPCK, London, 1852. 14 cm, 89 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00002896/00001/1j.

Reuben Ramble's Travels in the Eastern Counties of England. Written by Samuel Clark. Darton & Clark, London, c. 1837-1845. 20 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053200/00001/1j.

Reuben Ramble's Travels in the Midland Counties of England. Written by Samuel Clark. Darton & Clark, London, c. 1837-1845. 20 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053197/00001/1j.

Reuben Ramble's Travels in the Northern Counties of England. Written by Samuel Clark. Darton & Clark, London, c. 1837-1845. 20 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053198/00001.

Reuben Ramble's Travels in the Southern Counties of England. Written by Samuel Clark. Darton & Clark, London, c. 1837-1845. 20 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053199/00001.

Reuben Ramble's Travels in the Western Counties of England. Written by Samuel Clark. Darton & Clark, London, c. 1837-1845. 20 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053201/00001.

Rhymes and Pictures: The History of a Pound of Sugar. Illustrated by William Newman. Griffith and Farran, London, c. 1860-1863. 14 x 20 cm, 74 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049593/00001/1j.

Rhymes for the Little Ones. Illustrated by James N. Lee. RTS, London, c. 1880. 25 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026041/00001/1j.

Robinson Crusoe: His Life and Adventures. Illustrated by Carl Marr. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, 1886. 29 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [black and white: chromolithographs]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00073609/00001/1j.

Rock-a-Bye. Ernest Nister, London, c. 1889. 16 cm, 14 pages, 4 colour illustrations, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065168/00001/1j.

Romps at the Seaside. Written by Harry Furnace and Horace Lennard. George Routledge and Sons, London; New York, 1885. 23 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053692/00001/1j.

Routledge's New Sixpenny Toy Books: How Jessie was Lost. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1880. No size dimensions given, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025048/00001/1j.

Routledge's New Sixpenny Toy Books: The Noah's Ark Alphabet. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge and Sons, London; Glasgow; New York, c. 1874. 24 cm, 9 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028230/00001/1j.

Routledge's New Sixpenny Toy Books: The Old Courtier. G. Routledge, London, c. 1870. 24 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026610/00001/1j.

Routledge's Shilling Toy Books: The Pet Lamb. George Routledge and Sons, London, 1873. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027070/00001/1j.

Routledge's Shilling Toy Books: The Sleeping Beauty in the Woods. George Routledge and Sons, London, c. 187-. 27 cm, 13 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026626/00001/1j.

Routledge's Shilling Toy Books: Tittums and Fido. George Routledge and Sons, London, c. 1880. 26 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025986/00001/1j.

The Royal Progress of King Pepito. Written by Beatrice F. Cresswell, illustrated by Kate Greenaway. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; Brighton; New York, 1890. 22 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00079880/00001/1j.

RTS One Shilling Toy Books: Search and See: A Scripture Exercise for the Nursery. RTS, London, c. 1879. 27 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049592/00001/1j.

RTS Toy Books: The Little Lamb: Showing How it Wandered, How it Suffered, and How it was Saved by the Good Shepherd. RTS, London, c. 1880. 25 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025335/00001/1j.

RTS Toy Books: The Parables of Our Lord. RTS, London, c. 1880. 25 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025813/00001/1j.

RTS Toy Books: The Pilgrim Children. RTS, London, c. 187-. 27 cm, 21 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00066169/00001/1j.

RTS Toy Books: The Story of the Prodigal Son. RTS, London, c. 1880. 24 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025807/00001/1j.

Rummical Rhymes. Illustrated by J. V. Barret. Dean and Son, London, 1866. 22 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black, white, and red], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00004980/00001/1j.

Saddie's Service; or, The Children on the Hill. RTS, London, c. 1890. 17 cm, 97 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 9d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00077432/00001/1j.

Scripture Picture Alphabet. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1880. 29 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026040/00001/1j.

Sea Stories. RTS, London, c. 1880. 25 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026039/00001/1j.

Short Tales for Little Folk. Written by "Frances Epps, C. Selby Lowndes, and others". SPCK, London; Brighton, c. 1889. 23 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065401/00001/1j.

The Singular Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Robert Sears and Co.; Thomas Richardson, London; Derby, c. 1835-1837. 15 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour: woodcuts], 2d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00072769/00001/1j.

Sketches of Little Boys: The Well-Behaved Little Boy, The Covetous, The Dilatory, The Exact, The Attentive, The Inattentive, The Quarrelsome, and, The Good Little Boy. Fourth

Edition. Written by “Solomon Lovechild”. Dean and Son, London, c. 1846. 16 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054425/00001/1j.

A Snow-Baby: Merry Rhymes for Pleasant Times. Written by G. Clifton Bingham. Ernest Nister, London, c. 1888. 19 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055778/00001/1j.

Songs for the Nursery: First Series. Darton and Co., London, c. 1856. 22 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003478/00001/1j.

Spring Flowers. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1885. 23 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053701/00001/1j.

Stories of Foreign Lands for Little Folk at Home. J. S. Virtue and Co., London, c. 1889. 22 cm, 80 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065350/00001/1j.

The Story of a Short Life. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by Gordon Browne. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1885. 22 cm, 82 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054267/00001/1j.

Sugar and Spice. Ernest Nister; E. P. Dutton and Co., London; New York, c. 1890. 10 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00079984/00001/1j.

Sugar and Spice and All That's Nice: Pictures and Rhymes for the Little Ones. Written by “J. K. and V. B.”. Strahan & Co. Ltd., London, 1882. 24 cm, 38 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00052997/00001/1j.

Sugar Plums. Written by “Mabel”, illustrated by George Lambert. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1881. 15 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00048295/00001/1j.

Sunbeam Series: Puss in Boots. International Art Publishing Co., London; Berlin; New York, c. 1880. 28 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025805/00001/1j.

Sunbeam Series: Visit to the Farm. International Art Publishing Co., London; Berlin; New York, c. 1880. 28 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025821/00001/1j.

Sunday Readings for the Little Ones: The Old Church and Other Stories. Cassell & Co., London; Paris; Melbourne; New York, c. 1886. 21 cm, 42 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054545/00001/1j.

Sunday Readings for the Little Ones: The Prodigal Son and Other Stories. Cassell & Co., London; Paris; Melbourne; New York, c. 1886. 21 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054548/00001/1j.

Sunny Hours and Pretty Flowers. Written by "Mabel", illustrated by George Lambert. Dean and Son, London, c. 1887. 24 c, 32 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055358/00001/1j.

The Squirrels. SPCK, London, c. 1862-78. 15 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065543/00001/1j.

The Swallow and the Skylark. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, 1885. 17 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053979/00001/1j.

Tabart's Improved Edition of Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper: 12th Edition. Tabart & Co., London, 1807. 12 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [colour: copper plates], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00021462/00001/1j.

Tales from Shakespeare in Verse: The Taming of the Shrew. Frederick Warne and Co., London, 1880. 27 cm, 23 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026029/00001.

Tales from Shakespeare in Verse: The Tempest. Frederick Warne and Co., London, 1880. 27 cm, 23 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026028/00001/1j.

Tales from Shakespeare in Verse: The Winter's Tale. Frederick Warne and Co., London, c. 1880. 27 cm, 23 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026027/00001/1j.

The Temperance Alphabet for Bands of Hope. W. Tweedie, London, 1871. 14 x 22 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [black and white, red and green]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026661/00001/1j.

Ten Little Nigger Boys. E. Nister; E.P. Dutton, London; New York, c. 1890. 22 x 28 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00080719/00001/1j.

There's Many a Slip Twixt Cup and Lip and Other Proverbs in Verse. Written by Fred E. Weatherly, illustrated by W. J. Hodgson. Hildesheimer and Faulkner, London, c. 1885. No size dimensions given, 21 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053765/00001/1j.

There Was Once. Written by Constance Wilde. Ernest Nister; Ernest P. Dutton and Co., London; New York, 1888. 23 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055796/00001/1j.

This Little Pig Went to Market: A Tale in Five Curls. Written by Frederick E. Weatherly, illustrated by W. Weekes. Hildesheimer and Faulkner; Geo. C. Whitney, London;

New York, c. 1880. 24 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00023587/00001/1j.

Three Friends. Ernest Nister; Dutton, London; New York, c. 1890. 10 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00079983/00001/1j.

The Three Good Friends: Lily, Carrie, and Floss. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh, c. 1880. 28 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025817/00001/1j.

The Three Little Kittens. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh, 1866. 27 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024069/00001/1j.

Tippoo: A Tale of a Tiger. Written by W. Ralston and C. W. Cole. G. Routledge, London; New York, c. 1886. 21 x 25 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053747/00001/1j.

Tom the Piper's Son and Other Rhymes. Illustrated by Kate Greenaway. Marcus Ward & Co.; Royal Ulster Works, London; Belfast, 1876. 18 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025985/00001/1j.

Trust Me. Written by N. D'Anvers. SPCK; E. & J.B. Young & Co. London; Brighton; New York, 1884. 15 cm, 84 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00049554/00001/1j.

Twilight Fancies for our Young Folks. Written by Mary D. Brine. Cassell & Co., London; Paris; Melbourne; New York, c. 1887. 28 cm, 82 pages, illustrated [black and white] http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055346/00001/1j.

Two Tea Parties. Written by Rosalie Vanderwater, illustrated by Wilson de Meza. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London; Paris; New York, c. 1882. 25 cm, 60 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053004/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: A Bit of Fun. Edited by Charlotte Mary Yonge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055403/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Alice's Watch: A Christmas Tale. Edited by Charlotte Mary Yonge, illustrated by "The Dalziel Brothers". Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055413/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Carrie's Two Victories. Edited by Charlotte Mary Yonge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055412/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Cloudland. Edited by Charlotte Mary Yonge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055415/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Ella's Dream. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055410/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Harry's Snow-Shoes. Written by Charlotte Mary Younge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055406/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Joe and Ned. Edited by Laura Valentine. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055400/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Lost in the Lebanon. Edited by Charlotte Mary Yonge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055407/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Lost on the Line. Edited by Charlotte Mary Yonge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055414/00001.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Mary, Mary Quite Contrary. Edited by Charlotte Mary Yonge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055341/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Summer Arithmetic. Edited by Charlotte Mary Younge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055409/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: The Flax Gatherers. Edited by Charlotte Mary Younge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055404/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: The Old School-Room Piano. Edited by Charlotte Mary Younge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055417/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: The Schoolfellows. Written by "L. L. G.". Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055398/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: The Virtue of Patience. Edited by Charlotte Mary Younge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055408/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Toto. Edited by Laura Valentine. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055402/00001/1j.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Wax Matches and Wooden Ones. Edited by Charlotte Mary Younge. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1870. 14 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055401/00001.

The Victory Series: The Story of a Coral Necklace. Written by Robina F. Hardy. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, 1889. 17 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00065483/00001/1j.

A Visit to Aunt Agnes. RTS, London, 1864. 19 cm, 86 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00003443/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's New Series of Picture Books: Pothooks and Perseverence; or, The ABC Serpent. Written and illustrated by Walter Crane. Marcus Ward & Co., London, 1886. 23 x 23 cm, 25 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00054409/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's Toy Books, New Series: Old Mother Hubbard. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge and Sons, London, 1873. 25 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027054/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's Toy Books, New Series: My Mother. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge and Sons, London, 1873. 25 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027058/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's Toy Books, New Series: Sleeping Beauty. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1873. 25 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027064/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's Toy Books, New Series: The Forty Thieves. Written and illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1873. 25 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027046/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's Toy Books, New Series: Valentine and Orson. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1873. 25 cm, 9 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026612/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's Toy Books: The Three Bears. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1873. 25 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027065/00001/1j.

Walter Crane's Toy Books, Shilling Series: Princess Belle-Etoile. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge, London; New York, c. 1875. 27 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028211/00001/1j.

Warne's Excelsior Toy Books: Dash's Holiday. Illustrated by H. J. A. Miles. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 25 cm, 19 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025995/00001/1j.

Warne's Excelsior Toy Books: Jack in the Box. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. 25 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025993/00001/1j.

Warne's Excelsior Toy Books: The Alphabet of Animals. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. 25 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025974/00001/1j.

Warne's Excelsior Toy Books: The Book of Trades. Frederick Warne & Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 25 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025996/00001/1j.

Warne's Excelsior London Toy Books, New Series: The King and the Abbot. Frederick Warne & Co., London, c. 1880. 24 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025988/00001/1j.

Warne's Juvenile Drolleries: Lear's Book of Nonsense. Written by Edward Lear. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford, and Co., London; New York, c. 1880. 27 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025975/00001/1j.

Warne's Large Picture Toy Books: Gulliver's Travels. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, London, c. 1880. 25 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025983/00001/1j.

Warne's Large Picture Toy Books: Nursery Rhymes. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, London; New York, c. 1880. 25 cm, 11 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026030/00001/1j.

Warne's Large Picture Toy Books: The Zoological Gardens. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, London; New York, c. 1880. 25 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025981/00001/1j.

Warne's Little Playmates: Pussy Cat's Adventures. Frederick Warne and Co., London; New York, c. 1887. 27 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055383/00001/1j.

Warne's Nursery Literature: Nursery Songs. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong, London; New York, c. 1880. 25 cm, 11 pages, illustrated [colour], 6d or 1s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025339/00001/1j.

Warne's Picture Puzzle Toy Books: Holiday Fun. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford & Armstrong, London; New York, c. 1872-1878. 27 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026098/00001/1j.

Warne's Picture Puzzle Toy books: The Horse. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford & Armstrong, London; New York, c. 1880. 27 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s or 2s mounted. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025979/00001/1j.

Warne's Picture Puzzle Toy Books: Warne's National Nursery Library. Frederick Warne & Co.; Scribner, Welford and Armstrong, London; New York, c. 1874. 16 cm, 90 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00027905/00001/1j.

Warwick House Toy Books: The ABC of Animals and Birds. Ward, Lock & Tyler, London, c. 1880. 27 cm, 13 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025992/00001/1j.

Warwick House Toy Books: The Little Pussy Cats. Ward, Lock & Tyler, London, c. 1880. 26 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour], 1s. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00026625/00001/1j.

We Little Folks. Written by “a collection of favourite American authors”. Cassell & Co., London; Paris; Melbourne; New York, c. 1888. 27 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00055799/00001/1j.

Westley's Improved Rewards: Pity the Negro; or, An Address to Children on the Subject of Slavery. Written by Francis Westley. Printed “for Francis Westley”, London, 1825. 11 cm, 18 pages, illustrated [black and white], 1d. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00058507/00001/1j.

The Wonderful History of Dame Trot and her Pig. Written by “C. A. B.”. Chapman & Hall Ltd., London, c. 1883. 26 cm, 25 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053297/00001/1j.

Young Troublesome; or, Master Jacky's Holidays. Bradbury and Evans, London, c. 1876. 19 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour]. http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028393/00001/1j.

Hockliffe Collection (University of Bedfordshire, Luton, England)

A.B.C. The English Primer; or, Child's First Book in which are the Most Easy Reading Lessons Adapted to Promote the First Rudiments of Learning. J. G. Rusher, Banbury,

n.d. 14 x 8.5 cm, 50 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0474.html.

The Adventures of a Bible; or, The Advantages of Early Piety. Written by Sarah S. Wilkinson. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1838. 12.5 x 9.5 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: engraving], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0258.html.

The Adventures of Captain Gulliver in a Voyage to Lilliput. Lumsden and Son, Glasgow, 1815. 10 x 6 cm, 47 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0049.html.

The Adventures of Jack the Broom Boy. T. and R. Hughes, London, 1807. 11 x 9.5 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0721.html.

The Adventures of William Waters, and His Ass Bob. W. Walker, Otley, c. 1815. 10.5 x 6.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0050.html.

The Alphabet of Goody Two Shoes: by Learning Which she Soon Got Rich. J. Harris and Son, London, 1822. 17.5 x 10.5 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0668.html.

The Amusing Alphabet for Young Children Beginning to Read. R. Taylor & Co., London, 1812. 13 x 10 cm, 56 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0478.html.

The Assembled Alphabet; or, Acceptance of A's Invitation: concluding with a Glee for Three Voices. Written by “R.R.”. B. Tabart and Co., London, 1809. 13.5 x 12 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: plates]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0695.html.

Baby Tales in Prose. Written by “Mrs. Martin”. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1825. 13.5 x 10.5 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [colour: wood engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0168.html.

The Bad Boy Reformed by Kindness. Whitrow & Co., London, c. 1815. 12 x 7.5 cm, 31 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0059.html.

Billy Button's Journey to Brentford. Dean and Co., London, c. 1825. 14 x 9 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0733.html.

The Birthday Present; or, Pleasing Tales of Amusement and Instruction. A. K. Newman and Co., c. 1820. 16.5 x 10 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0176.html.

The Birthday Present; or, the Reward of Self-Control. Darton and Harvey, London, 1833. 14 x 9 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0072.html.

Blanch and Rosalinda. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 10.5 x 6.5 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0075.html.

Blue Beard; or, Female Curiosity. Rose and Son, Bristol, c. 1813-1832. 10.5 x 6.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0010.html.

Brothers and Sisters; or, Brotherly Love. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114M.html.

The Busy Bee. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. 7th edition. F. Houlston & Son, Wellington, 1823. 10 x 6 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213K.html.

Bysh's Edition of the History of the Children in the Wood. J. Bysh, London, c. 1829. 14 x 8 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0085.html.

Cautionary Stories: containing 'The Daisy' and 'The Cowslip', adapted to the Ideas of Children from Four to Eight Years Old. John Harris and Baldwin; Craddock and Joy, London, 1825. 13 x 10 cm, 66 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0863.html.

The Child's First Alphabet of Bible Names. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114H.html.

The Children in the Wood. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114E.html.

The Children in the Wood Restored. J. G. Rusher, Banbury, c. 1820. 9 x 6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0083.html.

The Children's Friend: for the Year 1824. Written by the Rev. W. Carus Wilson. No volume number given. A. Foster, Kirkby Lonsdale, 1824. 12.5 x 7 cm, 280 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings and woodcuts], 1d per monthly part. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0382.html.

Christmas Tales: for the Amusement and Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen, in Winter Evenings. Written by "Solomon Sobersides". J. and M. Robertson, Glasgow,

1806. 10 x 6 cm, 160 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0219.html.

Cinderella; or, the Little Glass Slipper. W. Savage, London, c. 1820. 14 x 8 cm, 35 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0013.html.

Cobbler Stick to Your Last; or, The Adventures of Joe Dobson. J. Harris, London, 1807. 12.5 x 8.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings], 1s plain or 1s6d coloured. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0724.html.

The Cottage Piper; or, The History of Edgar, The Itinerant Musician: An Instructive Tale. I. Marsden, Chelmsford, c. 1820-1825. 13 x 7 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0087.html.

Dame Partlet's Farm. J. Harris, London, c. 1840. 16.5 x 10 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0089.html.

Dame Wiggins of Lee and her Seven Wonderful Cats: a Humorous Tale. Written by “a lady of ninety”. Thomas Dean and Co., London, 1847. 14.5 x 11 cm, 55 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0848.html.

The Dovecot; or, The Raven's Visit: a Poetic Tale. 2nd edition. Brown, London, 1810. 12 x 9.5 cm, 23 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 6d plain or 9d coloured. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0763.html.

Early Seeds to Produce Spring Flowers. Written by Mary Elliott. William Darton, London, c. 1825-1830. 17.5 x 10 cm, 25 pages, illustrated [black and white: copperplate engravings], 1s plain or 1s6d coloured. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0540.html.

Easy Rhymes for Children from Five to Ten Years of Age. Written by “a lady author of 'Cato; or, The Adventures of a Dog', 'The Infant's Friend', ‘Little Rhymes for Little Folk',

etc". John Harris, London, 1825. 13 x 10 cm, 92 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0766.html.

Emily and Henrietta; or, A Cure for Idleness: an Improving Tale for Youth. Written by William Francis Sullivan, illustrated by Isaac Cruikshanks. A. K. Newman and Co., London, 1818. 17 x 10.5 cm, 58 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0223.html.

The Entertaining Story of Little Red Riding Hood. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 10 x 6 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0028.html.

The Fairy Grove; or, the Little Black Dog. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1840. 10.5 x 6.5 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0016.html.

The Folly of Pride. J. Wallis, London, c. 1812. 12.5 x 8 cm, 19 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0111.html.

The Four Sisters and their Aunt Mary. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114A.html.

The Gamut and Time-Table in Verse: for the Instruction of Children. Written by Charlotte Finch. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1825. 16 x 9.5 cm, 35 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings] plus 5 pages of music scores, 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0549.html.

The Giant Killer. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114J.html.

The Good Child's Delight. Hodgson & Co., London, c. 1822. 14 x 8.5 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0116.html.

The Good Child; or, Sweet Home. Dean and Son, London, c. 1825. 14 x 9 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [colour and black and white: plates, some pinned into place: unclear how many were original to the text], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0780.html.

Good Examples Recommended to all Good Children. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114C.html.

Grandmamma Easy's New Story of the Queen of Hearts. Dean & Co., London, c. 1840. 24.5 x 17 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0781.html.

Henry: A Story, intended for Little Boys and Girls from Five to Seven Years Old. Part the Second. Written by Frances Bowyer Vaux. W. Darton, London, 1816. 16 x 10 cm, 63 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0248.html.

The History and Adventures of Little James and Mary. Written by Lucy Watkins. Dean and Munday, London, 1813. 12.5 x 9.5 cm, 32 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0257.html.

The History of Abou Casem, and his Two Remarkable Slippers: and The History of the Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots. I. Marsden, Chelmsford, c. 1825. 13 x 7 cm, 23 pages, illustrated [black and white], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0018.html.

The History of an Old Woman; who had Three Sons Jerry, James and John, together with An Account of What Became of Her Property, and last of all Herself. J. Harris, London, 1815. 13 x 10 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0194.html.

The History of Emily and her Brothers. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. 12th edition. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1824. 10 x 6 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213J.html.

The History of Jack and the Bean-Stalk. B. Tabart, London, 1807. 11.5 x 7.5 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [black and white: copper plate engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0019.html.

The History of Jack the Giant Killer. J. Bysh, London, c. 1829. 21 x 16 cm, 8 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0020.html.

The History of Little George and his Penny. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. 11th edition. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1824. 10 x 6 cm, 29 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213I.html.

The History of Little Jane. Bishop and Co., London, c. 1845. 13 x 9 cm, 7 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0127.html.

The History of Lydia Loverule. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114F.html.

The History of Mary Ann. Bishop and Co., London, c. 1845. 13 x 9.5 cm, 7 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0129.html.

History of Mother Hubbard. Written by Sarah Catherine Martin. W. S. Johnson, London, c. 1850. 11.5 x 11 cm, one pull-out strip, illustrated [black and white]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0675.html.

The History of Primrose Prettyface. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, London, 1818. 14.5 x 9 cm, 48 pages with end of book missing, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0131.html.

The History of Tabby, a Favourite Cat: as Related by Herself to her Kitten. Written by E. Smyth. Didier and Tebbutt, London, 1811. 13 x 8.5 cm, 68 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0218.html.

The History of Tom Thumb. J. G. Rusher, Banbury, c. 1835. 9 x 6 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0787.html.

The History of Little Tom Tucker. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1807-1850. 10.5 x 6.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0785.html.

The History of the Renowned Guy of Warwick: to which is prefixed, A Short Account of Kenilworth Castle. Extracted from Sir. Wm. Dugdale's 'Antiquities of Warwickshire', adapted to the Entertainment of Youth. [and,] The History of Richard Nevil, the Stout Earl of Warwick, also called the King Maker. Pratt, Smith, and Lesson, Coventry, 1808. 13.5 x 8.5 cm, 47 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0711.html.

The History of Robin Hood, Captain of the Merry Outlaws of Sherwood Forest. W. Davison, Alnwick, c. 1820. 13 x 8 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0714.html.

The History of Tommy Titmouse. J. Harris, London, 1815. 9.5 x 6.5 cm, 63 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0132.html.

The House that Jack Built: to which is added, Some Account of Jack Jingle, Showing by What Means he Acquired his Learning and in Consequence Thereof got Rich, and Built Himself a House. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1823. 8.5 x 6.5 cm, 23 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0794.html.

Innocent Poetry for Infant Minds. 4th ed. Written by "the author of 'Industry and Idleness' and 'Precept by Example'". W. Darton, London, 1814. 13.5 x 8.5 cm, 65 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0797.html.

The Interesting History and Pleasing Adventures of Tommy Trip. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114G.html.

The Interesting Story of Cinderella and her Glass Slipper. J. G. Rusher, Banbury, c. 1814. 9.5 x 6.5 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0012.html.

Jack and the Bean Stalk. Publisher unknown, London, c. 1850-1860. 18 x 13 cm, 32 pages, pages 12-20 missing, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0021.html.

Jack the Giant Killer. J. G. Rusher, Banbury, c. 1820. 9.5 x 6.5 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0022.html.

Jim Crow's Wonderful Travels. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1840. 10.5 x 6.5 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0145.html.

The Juvenile Calendar in Verse. G. Stevens, Southwark, c. 1820. 10 x 9.5 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0799.html.

Juvenile Sketches; or, The History of Mrs. Barton and her Little Family: Illustrated with some Instructive Stories for the Youth of Both Sexes. Written by William Francis Sullivan. A. K. Newman and Co., London, 1818. 17.5 x 10.5 cm, 56 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0224.html.

The Life and Death of Cock Robin. O. Hodgson, London, c. 1820. 16.5 x 10 cm, 14 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0752.html.

Little Arthur. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. 4th edition. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1824. 10 x 6 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213A.html.

Little Hunchback, from The Arabian Nights Entertainments: in Three Cantos. J. Harris, London, 1817. 12.5 x 10 cm, 31 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0802.html.

Little Matilda and her Fine Clothes. Whitrow and Co., London, c. 1816. 11.5 x 7.5 cm, 31 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0164.html.

Little Polly and her Dolly. Dean and Co., London, c. 1840. 14 x 9 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0803.html.

Little Red Riding Hood and the Wicked Wolf. W. Davison, Alnwick, c. 1808-1850. 12.5 x 7.5 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0027.html.

Little Red Riding Hood; or, Some Account of Sally Evans. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114I.html.

The Little Sunday-School Child's Reward. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1824. 10 x 6 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213E.html.

London Cries. Walker and Sons, London; Otley, c. 1880. 17 x 10 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0805.html.

London Jingles and Country Tales: for Young People. J. G. Rusher, Banbury, c. 1840. 9 x 6.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0806.html.

Mary and her Cat: A tale for good children, chiefly in words of two syllables. Written by Eliza Fenwick. Tabart and Co., London, 1808. 14 x 9 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings], 1s plain or 1s6d coloured. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0172.html.

Modern Youthful Martyrs. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114L.html.

Mother Goose's Tales. T. Sabine and Son, London, c. 1808-1825. 17 x 9.5 cm, 100 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0031.html.

Mr Punch's New Drama: as it is Performed in the City of London. Written by "C.W.". C. Woolnoth, London, 1830. 13.5 x 10 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: prints], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0254.html.

Mrs. Lovechild's Golden Present for all Good Little Boys and Girls. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1807-1850. 10 x 6 cm, 31 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0685.html.

My Real Friend; or, Incidents in Life, Founded on Truth, for the Amusement of Children. 2nd ed. W. Darton, London, 1812. 15.5 x 10 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0184.html.

The New Royal Spelling Primer. Thomas Richardson and Son, Derby, c. 1835. 14 x 9 cm, 35 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0600.html.

The New Universal Primer; or, An Easy Book, suited to the Tender Capacities of Children. J. Drewry, Derby, c. 1800. 11 x 9 cm, 73 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0601.html.

The Nosegay of Honeysuckles. Written by Lucy Lyttleton Cameron. 12th edition. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1825. 10 x 6 cm, 15 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213H.html.

Nursery Rhymes. Thomas Richardson, Derby, c. 1835. 13.5 x 8.5 cm, 31 pages, no illustrations, 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0690.html.

Old Edward: to which is added, The Blacksmith. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114B.html.

Old Mother Goose. W. S. Johnson, London, c. 1850. 11 x 10.5 cm, 10 pages, illustrated [colour: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0692.html.

Original Ditties for the Nursery: so Wonderfully Contrived that they may be either Sung or Said, by Nurse or Baby. 3rd edition. J. Harris, London, 1807. 12.5 x 7.5 cm, 75 pages, illustrated [black and white: engraving]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0693.html.

The Orphan. Written by "Miss H. D. C.". D. N. Carvalho, London, c. 1815-1832. 17.5 x 10.5 cm, 26 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0079.html.

The Orphans; or the Triumph of Integrity. Written by William Francis Sullivan. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1825. 18 x 10.5 cm, 54 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0225.html.

Our Playful Pets, and Marriage of the Three Little Kittens. Dean and Son, London, c. 1875. 19 x 16.5 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings that open to a second layer], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0708.html.

Park's Surprising History of Jack and the Bean Stalk, the Way in Which he Obtained Possession of the Bage [sic] of Gold, and Effected the Destruction of the Ogre, by Chopping Down the Bean Stalk. A. Park, London, c. 1840. 12 x 9.5 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0033.html.

The Parlour Teacher. W. Darton and J. Harvey, London, 1804. 15 x 9.5 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0611.html.

Parnell's Hermit. Tabart and Co., London, 1810. 21 x 9 cm, 6 pages each made of two flaps revealing a third page, illustrated [black and white]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0709.html.

Persian Fables. John W. Parker, London, 1833. 13.5 x 9 cm, 88 pages, illustrated [black and white. http://hockliffe.dmu.ac.uk/items/0001.html.

Peter Prim's Pride; or, Proverbs, That will Suit the Young, or the Old. J. Harris, London, 1810. 13 x 9 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0196.html.

Plain Things for Little Folks: Seasoned with Instruction, both for the Mind and the Eye. Written by Mary Elliott. William Darton, London, c. 1823. 17 x 10.5 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0541.html.

Pleasing Tales for Little Folks. Written by J. Bishop. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1820-1830. 13 x 10.5 cm, 31 pages, illustrated [colour: wood engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0073.html.

The Poor Child's Friend; or, The Sunday School Visitor, for the Year 1825. Written by the Rev. R. Simpson. No volume number given. Henry Mozley, Derby, 1825. 13.5 x 8 cm, 148 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d per monthly part. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0378.html.

Portraits from Life; or, The History of Charles and Charlotte: an Instructive and Entertaining Tale, founded on Truth. Written by William Francis Sullivan. Dean and

Munday, London, 1817. 17 x 10 cm, 53 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0226.html.

A Present for a Little Girl. William Darton and J. Harvey, London, 1805. 16 x 10 cm, 50 pages, 24 engravings, 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0628.html.

Pretty Stories for the Amusement of Good Children. Thomas Richardson, Derby, c. 1834. 14.5 x 8 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: fold-out engraving], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0037.html.

Pretty Tales: containing Five Entertaining Stories, for the Amusement and Instruction of Little Children. Written by Eleanor Fenn. I. Marsden, Chelmsford, c. 1820-1825. 12.5 x 7 cm, 23 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0238.html.

Pug's Visit; or, The Disasters of Mr. Punch: a Poetic Tale. J. Harris, London, 1806. 13 x 9cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: copper engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0830.html.

The Remarkable Life of Jack and Jill. Bishop and Co., London, c. 1850. 13 x 9.5 cm, 7 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0697.html.

Rhymes for Harry and his Nursemaid. William Darton and Son, London, c. 1820. 18 x 10.5 cm, 37 pages, illustrated [black and white: copperplates]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0699.html.

Ripe Cherries; or, The History of William and Jane. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114D.html.

Robin Goodfellow. J. Harris, London, 1815. 10 x 6 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0040.html.

The Royal Alphabet of Kings and Queens. Joseph Cundall, London, c. 1837-1848. 17 x 11 cm, 70 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0701.html.

The Scarbro' [Scarborogh] Guide in Miniature: containing Hints and Cautions to All Little Strangers at Scarboro': to which is added, The Pet Lamb, in rhythm, intended as an Innocent Exercise for the Memory of Children. 2nd ed. J. D. Heaton, Leeds, 1822. 13 x 9.5cm, 48 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0838.html.

The Seven Champions of Christendom. No publisher given, c. 1822-1832. 16 x 10 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [colour: woodcuts], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0719.html.

The Seven Champions of Christendom: A Tale for the Nursery. Tabart and Co., London, 1804. 13 x 8 cm, 44 pages, illustrated [black and white: copperplate engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0718.html.

The Silver Penny: for the Amusement and Instruction of Good Children. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 9.5 x 6 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0702.html.

Sixteen Wonderful Old Women. Harris and Son, no publishing place given, 1820. 17 x 10.5cm, 32 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0841.html.

Sketches of Juvenile Characters. E. Wallis, London, 1820. 13.5 x 8.5 cm,75 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0095D.html.

The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood. Tabart and Co., London, 1806. 12 x 7.5 cm, 34 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0041.html.

The Sorrows of Selfishness; or, The History of Miss Richmore. Written by Jane West. J. Harris, London, 1812. 14 x 8.5 cm, 53 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0140.html.

The Stories of Prince Lupin, the Yellow Dwarf, Little George, and Little Red Riding Hood. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, c. 1808-1840. 14 x 8.5 cm, 35 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0042.html.

The Story of Little Dick and His Playthings: *showing how a Naughty Boy became a Good One, being an Example to All Little Masters and Misses in the British Empire*. J. Lumsden, Glasgow, 1823. 13.5 x 9 cm, 36 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0847.html.

The Story of the Apple Pie. G. Martin, London, c. 1830. 10 x 9.5 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0674.html.

Story of the Ill-Natured Boy. W. Darton, Uxbridge, 1825. 13 x 10 cm, 43 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0845.html.

The Strawberry-Gatherers. Written by Lucy Lyttleton Cameron. 6th edition. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1824. 10 x 6 cm, 19 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213G.html.

The Sunday Scholar's Gift; or, A Present for a Good Child. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1820. 10.5 x 6.5 cm, 27 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0849.html.

Take Your Choice; or, The Difference Between Virtue and Vice, shown in Opposite Characters. J. Harris, London, 1805. 14 x 8.5 cm, 106 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0229.html.

Tea-Table Dialogues, between a Governess and Mary Sensible, Eliza Thoughtful, Jane Bloom, Ann Hopeful, Dinah Sterling, Lucy Lively, and Emma Tempest. Written by Richard Johnson. Darton and Harvey, London, 1803. 11.5 x 7 cm, 96 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0233.html.

The Third Chapter of Accidents and Remarkable Events: containing Caution and Instruction for Children. Written by William Darton. Darton and Harvey, London, 1801. 12 x 7.5 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [black and white: copper engravings]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0235.html.

Tom Thumb. W. S. Johnson, London, c. 1850-1860. 11.5 x 10.5 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0044.html.

Tom Thumb's Exhibition: being an Account of Many Valuable and Surprising Curiosities which he has Collected in the Course of his Travels. For the Instruction and Amusement of the British Youth. J. Harris, London, 1815. 10 x 6 cm, 62 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0239.html.

The Travel and Adventure of John Bull the Younger. J. Harris and Son, London, 1824. 17.5 x 10.5 cm, 28 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0859.html.

A True History of a Little Old Woman who Found a Silver Penny. Tabart and Co., London, 1806. 13 x 10 cm, 14 pages, no illustrations, some pages missing. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0861.html.

The Two Lambs. Written by Lucy Lyttleton Cameron. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1824. 10 x 6 cm, 46 pages, no illustrations, 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0213F.html.

Vicissitude: or, The Life and Adventures of Ned Frolic: an Original Comic Song for the Entertainment of All Good Boys and Girls in the British Empire. J. Lumsden and Son, Glasgow, 1818. 13.5 x 8.5 cm, 17 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0873.html.

Virtue and Vice; or, The History of Charles Careful, and Harry Heedless: shewing the Good Effects of Caution and Prudence, and the Many Inconveniences that Harry Heedless Experienced from his Rashness and Disobedience, while Master Careful became a Great Man, only by his Merit. J. Harris, London, 1815. 9.5 x 6 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0249.html.

The Visits of Tommy Lovebook to his Neighbouring Little Misses and Masters. J. Harris, London, 1815. 9.5 x 6 cm, 64 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0252.html.

The Voyages and Adventures of La Perouse: to which is added, The Life of Hatem Tai, or the Generosity of an Arabian Prince. John Bysh, London; Derby, 1829. 14 x 8 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [colour: engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0253.html.

The Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor. Tabart and Co., London, 1805. 12 x 7.5 cm, 70 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings], 6d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0046.html.

Wittington and his Cat. R. Miller, London, c. 1820. 15.5 x 8.5 cm, 36 pages, no illustrations. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0048.html.

The Young Liar!! A Tale of Truth and Caution: for the Benefit of the Rising Generation. Written by William Francis Sullivan. Dean and Munday, London, 1817. 17 x 10 cm, 59 pages, illustrated [black and white: engravings]. 1s. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0227.html.

Youth's Looking-Glass: being a Divine Dialogue between a Young Man, Satan, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Shewing, by way of Emblems, the Great Duty of Remembering our Creator in the Days of our Youth. No publisher given, London, c. 1800. 17 x 11 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0473.html.

Youthful Martyrs, in Ancient Times. RTS, London, c. 1833. 9 x 5.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0114K.html.

Youthful Sports; or, The Pleasures of a Country Fair: For Good Boys and Girls. W. Walker, Otley, c. 1820. 10 x 6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: wood engravings], 1d. http://www.sd-editions.com/hockliffeNew/items/0259.html.

McGill Library Chapbook Collection (McGill University, Montreal, Canada)

The Adventures of a Halfpenny: Commonly Called a Birmingham Halfpenny, or Counterfeit: as Related by Itself. J. G. Rusher, Banbury, c. 1830. 11 x 7 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7599.

Adventures of Matty Marvelous [sic]. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 14 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7489.

The Adventures of Nibble, a Discontented Mouse. Dean and Co., London, c. 1847-1854. 16 x 12 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7372.

Adventures of the Beautiful Little Maid Cinderilla [sic]; or, The History of a Glass Slipper: to which is added, An Historical Description of the Cat. J, Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8256.

The Adventures of Timothy Dump and his Dog Toby. S. Mark and Sons, London, c. 1859-1900. 19 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7940.

The Affecting History of the Children in the Wood. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1814-1828. 15 cm, 38 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8211.

Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp. A. Guthrie, Ardrossan, c. 1864-1892. 15 x 10 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8234.

Ally's Birth-Day. Groombridge and Sons, London, c. 1845-1862. 12 x 8 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8221.

An Alphabet of Animals. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.; Winks and Son, London; Leicester, 1865. 13 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7567.

Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals: Intended for Children. 2nd ed., J. E. Evans, London, c. 1829-1839. 14 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8216.

The Barren Apple-Tree. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, c. 1845-1851. 11 x 10 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7516.

Betty Brown, the St. Giles's Orange Girl: with Some Account of Mrs. Sponge the Money Lender. Written by Hannah More. Howard and Evans, London; Bath, c. 1801-1811. 18 x 12 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d each or 6s per hundred. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7914.

The Bible-Printers. RTS, London, c. 1847-1853. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7528.

Blind Willie. SPCK (published under the direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education), London, 1844, 11 x 8 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8320.

Blue Beard; or, Fatal curiosity: A Tale of the Olden Time, Intended for the Amusement of All Good Children. Orlando Hodgson, London, c. 1832-1833. 18 x 11 cm, 17 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7875.

The Book of Beasts, for Young Persons. J. G. Rusher, London, c. 1830. 10 x 7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8307.

Buds and Blossoms: Little Frank. Written by “Mrs. Thomas Geldart”. Groombridge and Sons, London, 1852. 11 x 9, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7398.

The Butterfly's Court Day. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 14 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7490.

Careless James; or, The Box of Toys. Written by Julia Corner. Dean and Son, London, c. 1857-1865. 12 x 8 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7262.

The Careless Little Boy. 8th ed., Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1832. 10 x 7 cm, 26 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7970.

Charles Dwight; or, The Missionary's Son. RTS, London, c. 1847-1849. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7529.

The Cheerful Warbler; or, Juvenile Song Book. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 9.8 x 6.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7438.

The Child and the Sparrows. RTS, London, 1847-1853. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7530.

The Child's Assistant. Written by Alexandre Barrie. Francis Orr and Sons, Glasgow, 1853. 15 x 10 cm, 24 pages, no illustrations. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7948.

The Child's Coloured Picture Reading Book. Dean and Son, London, c. 1857-1867. 16 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7263.

The Child's Dream. J. Catnach, London, c. 1813-1838. 18 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7242.

The Child's Instructor; or, Picture Alphabet. Lumsden and Son, Glasgow, c. 1815. 11 x 7 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8274.

Child's New Alphabet. James Clarke and Co., Edinburgh, c. 1824-1844. 11 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7857.

The Children in the Wood. Henry Mozley and Sons, Derby, c. 1837-1845. 11 x 7 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7513.

The Children in the Wood: A Tale for the Nursery. William Darton, London, c. 1821. 14 x 9, 50 pages, illustrated [black and white: copper plates], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8197.

Cobbler Pounds. RTS, London, 1847-1850. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7531.

A Collection of Fables: for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Misses and Masters. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1825. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8257.

Conversations on Prayer: intended to Render that Important Duty a Reasonable Service for Young Children. Written by Rev. W. Harris, L.L.D. 7th ed., Sunday School Union, London, c. 1845. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7993.

The Coral Necklace: Intended for the Amusement of Children. J. E. Evans, London, c. 1829-1839. 14 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 4d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8218.

The Cottage Garden; or, The Infant Tutor: a Moral and Entertaining Tale for Children. Dean and Munday, London, 1811-1847. 14 x 10 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7866.

Cottage Tales for Little People; or, The Amusing Repository for All Good Boys and Girls. Lumsden and Son, Glasgow, c. 1815-1820. 10 x 7 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8275.

The Cries of Banbury and London, and Celebrated Stories. J. G. Rushner, Banbury, c. 1840. 10 x 7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7983.

The Cries of London: for the Instruction and Amusement of Good Children. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d,. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8262.

The Curiosities of London: Containing a Descriptive and Entertaining Sketch of the British Metropolis, for the Amusement of Youth. Thomas Tegg, London, c. 1799-1846. 14 x 6 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7995.

Daniel's Youth. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, c. 1845-1851. 11 x 8 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7946.

Dialogues for the Entertainment and Instruction of Youth: Part the Second. F. Houlston and Son, Wellington, 1826. 10 x 7 cm, 62 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 4d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7961.

The Diverting History of Jumping Joan, and her Dog and Cat. G. J. Loomis and Co., Albany, 1822. 6.2 x 5.1 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7482.

Divine and Moral Songs: Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children. Written by Isaac Watts. J. Innes, London, c. 1817-1851. 14 x 9 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7924.

Divine Songs, in Easy Language, for the Use of Children. Written by Isaac Watts. J. Lumsden & Son, Glasgow, 1814. 10 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8285.

Do Not Forget to Pray. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7532.

Dr. Watts's Moral Songs for Children. Written by Isaac Watts. J. G. Rusher, Banbury, c. 1820. 11 x 7 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8303.

Dunigan's [sic] Tortoise-Shell Cat; or, The Life of Queen Tab and her Kitten. No publisher given, 18--. 19 x 12 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7195.

Easy Questions for a Little Child. 14th ed., written by Mary Martha Sherwood. Houlston and Son, London, 1834. 10 x 7 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7979.

An Elegy on the Death and Burial of Cock Robin. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 10 x7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7442.

Elm Villa. Written by Anne Marie Sergeant. Groombridge and Sons, London, c. 1845-1862. 12 x 8 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7397.

England During the Middle Ages in Easy Language for Young Children. Written by Julia Corner. Thomas Dean and Son, London, c. 1847-1854. 17 x 13 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8210.

The Entertaining Story of Little Red Riding Hood: to which is added, Tom Thumb's Toy. J, Kendrew, York, c. 1810-1841. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7443.

Family Prayer. RTS, London, 18--. 10 x 7 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7962.

The Fawns. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. RTS, London, 1832. 10 x 7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7977.

The First Book; or, Step to Learning: containing Short and Easy Lessons for Children. R. Elliott, Hereford, c. 1830-1839. 14 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8215.

The Forty Thieves; or, Ali Baba and Morgiana. James Clarke and Co., Edinburgh, c. 1824-1844. 11 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7855.

Fretful Fanny. Robson, Levey, and Franklyn, London, 1845. 11 x 8 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8328.

Twenty-Eight Divine Songs for the Use of Children. James Clarke and Co., Edinburgh, c. 1824-1844. 11 cm, 38 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7861.

The Garden of Learning. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 14 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7935.

George Mills; or, Learn Your Lessons Before You Play. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1811-1847. 13 x 10 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7867.

The Gold Mine. RTS, London, c. 1847-1853. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7533.

Good and Bad Temper. Robson, Levey, and Franklyn, London, 1843. 11 x 8 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8326.

The Good Child's Amusing Riddle-Book. T. Brandard, Birmingham, c. 1807-1830. 10 x 7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7233.

The Good Shepherd. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, c. 1845-1851. 11 x 8 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7947.

Gurton's Visit to the Fair. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 14 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7491.

Harris's Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction: Nursery Novelties for Little Masters and Misses. Harris and Son, London, 1820. 19 x 12 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8245.

The History and Adventures of Three-Fingered Jack, the Terror of Jamaica. Samuel and John Keys, Devonport, c. 1840-1849. 18 cm, 6 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7424.

History of Beasts. Knight and Bagster for J. Davis, London, c. 1825-1842. 8.6 x 5.8 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7250.

History of Birds. Knight and Bagster for J. Davis, London, c. 1825-1842. 8.5 x 5.7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7249.

The History of Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper. William Walker, Otley, c. 1813-1837. 15 x 9 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8334.

The History of Giles Gingerbread: A Little Boy who Lived Upon Learning. Written by "Tom Trip". J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 9.3 x 6.5 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8266.

The History of Hawthorn Farm; or, The Lost Son. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 14 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7493.

History of Little Red Riding Hood: in Verse, with the Moral of the Tale. G. B. Pim, London, c. 1834-1842. 19 x 12 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7953.

The History of Little Solomon. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1811-1847. 14 x 9 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8212.

The History of Little Tom Tucker. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 11 x 7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7444.

The History of Lucy Gray. Bishop & Co., London, 1860. 13 x 10 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8188.

The History of Miss Maria Wilkins. T. Brandard, Birmingham, c. 1810. 11 x 6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7234.

The History of Paddy Shane. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 14 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7492.

The History of Sam, the Sportsman, and his Gun: also, of his Wife Joan. J, Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 9.6 x 6.5 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7446.

History of the Life and Adventures of a Mouse. Mottram & Son, London, 1847. 14 x 10 cm, 16 pages, 1d, no illustrations. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7945.

The History of Tommy and Harry. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1830. 10 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7445.

The History of Whittington and his Cat: How from a Poor Country Boy, Destitute of Parents or Relations, he attained Great Riches, and was Promoted to the High and Honorable Dignity of Lord Mayor of London. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 9.7 x 6.5 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7457.

Hodgson's Juvenile Library: Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales: For the Amusement of all Little Masters and Misses. Orlando Hodgson, London, c. 1832-1835. 14 x 9 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7404.

Holiday Entertainment; or, The Good Child's Fairing: containing the Plays and Sports of Charles and Billy Welldon, and Other Little Boys and Girls Who Went With Them to the Fair. Lumsden and Son, Glasgow, c. 1820.10 x 7 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8277.

The Honest Cabin Boy. RTS, London, c. 1847-1853. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7534.

Hottentot Children: with a Particular Account of Paul Dikkop, the Son of a Hottentot Chief, who died in England, Sept. 14, 1824. RTS, London, c. 1824-1834. 11 x 7 cm, 46 pages, no illustrations. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7956.

"I Don't Believe in Your Way". Written by "J. M. S.". The Publishing Office, Glasgow, c. 18--. 9 x 7 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7524.

An Interesting Account of the Norman Conquest, and the Manner in which the People of England Lived during the Reign of William the Conqueror in Easy Language for Young Children. Written by Julia Corner. Thomas Dean & Son, London, c. 1847-1854. 17 x 12 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7369.

An Interesting Description of England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Showing the Condition of the People, their Modes of Life, and How They Lived & Dressed: from the Reign of James the Second to that of Queen Victoria in Easy Language for Young Children. Written by Julia Corner. Thomas Dean & Son, London, c. 1847-1854. 17 x 13 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7370.

An Interesting Narrative of the Conquest of the Romans & Britons by the Saxons: and an Account of the Heptarchy of Seven Saxon Kingdoms in England in Easy Language for Young Children. Written by Julia Corner. Thomas Dean & Son, London, c. 1847-1854. 12 x 12 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8209.

Interesting Narrative of the History of the People of England: Their Manners, Customs & Condition, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: from the Reign of Henry the Seventh to the Death of William the Third in Easy Language for Young Children. Written by Julia Corner. Thomas Dean & Son, London, c. 1847-1854. 17 x 13 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7371.

The Interesting Story of the Children in the Wood. T. Goode, London, c. 1859-1879. 17 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7392.

Jacky Dandy's Delight; or, The History of Birds and Beasts: in Prose and Verse. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 9.9 x 6.6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7448.

Jack Jingle, and Sucky Shingle. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1825. 9.8 x 6.8 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7447.

John in Search of a Place. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7535.

Juvenile Games and Nursery Rhymes. James Clarke and Co., Edinburgh, c. 1824-1844. 11 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7859.

Juvenile History of Birds; or, The Power and Wisdom of the Supreme Being in the Works of Creation, Attempted to be Unfolded by Young Minds. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1811-1847. 24 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7257.

The Knife-Grinder's Budget of Pictures & Poetry, for Boys and Girls. William Walker, Otley, 1829. 9.1 x 5.9 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecor,d.php?ID=7588.

Lame Jemmy. Houlston and Co., London, 1841. 12 x 8 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7408.

The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner. J. Kendrew, York, 1810. 10 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8258.

The Lily; or, Little William and his Mamma, with The Good Children. Dean and Munday, London, 1811-1847. 14 x 11 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7256.

The Lip of Truth. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7536.

A Little Book about a Horse. J. and C. Evans, London, 1826. 8.5 x 5.8 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7377.

A Little Book about Little Birds. J. and C. Evans, London, 1826. 8.5 x 5.8 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7376.

The Little Flower-Gatherer. RTS, London, c. 1847-1849. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7537.

Little Rachel. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7538.

Little Red Riding Hood. Sold by the booksellers, London, c. 1840. 17 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8193.

Little Robert and the Owl. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. Houlston and Son, London, 1834. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7410.

Little Tim and his Friend the Cobbler. Groombridge and Sons, London, c. 1845-1862. 12 x 8 cm, 48 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7399.

Little Tom: The Huntsman's Boy. Houlston and Son, London; Wellington, 1832. 10 x 7 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7960.

Little Verses for Good Children: from Two to Six Years Old. J. Davis, London, c. 1822-1842. 8.5 x 5.8 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7251.

The Little White Mouse. Henry Mozley and Sons, Derby, c. 1837-1847. 11 x 7 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7514.

Margaret Fletcher. James Burns, London, 1842. 11 x 8 cm, 29 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8327.

Markham's Spelling-Book: Arranged for the Use of Preparatory Schools. Written by William Markham. J. S. Publishing and Stationery Co. Ltd; Dean & Son, London; Otley; Yorkshire, c. 1854-1873. 19 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8350.

Marshall's Droll Stories about Comical Ladies; or, Uncle's Gift to his Good Little Nephews and Nieces. Marshall, London, c. 1825. 15 x 10 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7941.

The Marys of the Bible. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7540.

Memoirs of a Peg-Top. Written by the author of "Adventures of a Pin-Cushion". T. Wilson and R. Spence, York, c. 1800. 12 cm, 84 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7594.

The Merry Cobbler and his Musical Alphabet. J. Lumsden and Sons, Glasgow, c. 1815-1820. 8.9 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8281.

The Months and the Seasons; or, A Picture of the Year. Dean and Munday, London, 183-. 14 x 11 cm, 34 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7258.

Moral Tales in Verse: Calculated to Please and Instruct Young Children. Hodgson & Co., London, c. 1822-1824. 14 x 9 cm, 38 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7403.

Mother's Last Lesson. RTS, London, 185-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7541.

Mrs. Lovechild's Golden Present: For All Good Little Boys and Girls. Written by “Mrs. Lovechild”. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 10 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7451.

My Brother. Written by Ann Taylor Gilbert. James Clarke and Co., Edinburgh, c. 1824-1844. 11 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7858.

My Father: to which is added, My Mother. Written by Ann Taylor Gilbert. James Clarke and Co., Edinburgh, c. 1824-1844. 11 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7856.

The Name on the Rock. RTS. London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7543.

Nayah, the Little Hindoo Convert. RTS, London, c. 1847-1851. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7542.

A New Picture Book. J. Davis, London, c. 1822-1842. 8.5 x 5.7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7252.

New Short Stories: The Lighthouse Keeper's Daughter. RTS, London, 18--. 13 x 8 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d for a packet of 16 (two copies of eight books). https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7539.

No Danger. James E. Hawkins, London, c. 1878-1885. 8 x 6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 4d per dozen or 2s per 100. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7525.

No Time like the Present. Darton and Clark, London, c. 1837-1845. 11 x 9 cm, 40 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7864.

Now is the Time. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7544.

Obstinacy and Passion. J. Burns, London, 1842. 11 x 8 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8325.

Old Robert. RTS, London, 18--. 10 x 7 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7964.

The Old Stable. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7545.

Original Toy Books: The Sailor Brother; or, The History of Thomas Saville: an Interesting Tale. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1825. 15 cm, 55 pages, illustrated [black and

white: woodcuts], 6d.
https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7870.

Paul Preston's New and Entertaining Penny Books: The History of Frank Fairplay and his Little Brother Tom. William Walker, London; Otley, c. 1830. 15 x 9 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7587.

Park's Nursery Tales. A. Park, London, c. 1836-1863. 24 x 15 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7951.

Park's Tom Thumb. A. Park, London, c. 1836-1863. 24 x 15 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7952.

The Pearl Bracelet: Intended for the Amusement of Children. Chiefly in Words Not Exceeding Two Syllables. by the author of "Botanical Rambles" &c. J. E. Evans, London, c. 1829-1839. 14 cm, 42 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8217.

Peep into a School. RTS, London, c. 1847-1852. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 2 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7547.

Penny Books: A Collection of Birds and Riddles. Written by "Miss Polly & Master Tommy". J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 9.6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7440.

Peter and Willy. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7546.

Picture Books for Little Children: Picture Lessons in Verse. RTS, London, c. 1851-1886. 15 x 10 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7957.

The Plate of Cherries. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7548.

Pleasing Instructer [sic]. J. Metcalf, Northampton, 1837.8.7 x 5.4 cm, 8 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7511.

The Pleasing Instructor. S. Bloomer, Birmingham, c. 1827-1830. 10x 7 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7221.

Poems, Pictures, and Alphabet of Verses: for the Amusement and Instruction of Young Persons. I. Marsdan, Chelmsford, c. 1815-1826. 12 x 6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7936.

The Poetical Garland; or, Pleasing Tales in Easy Verse. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1811-1847. 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7868.

Poor Burnuff. Houlston and Son, London, 1838. 11 x 7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7412.

Pretty Poems, Songs, etc.: in Easy Language, for the Amusement of Little Boys & Girls. I. Marsden, Chelmsford, 1815-1826. 17 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7937.

Punctuation in Verse; or, The Good Child's Book of Stops. Written by "Madame Leinstein". Dean and Munday, London, c. 1826-1828. 17 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1s. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8213.

Ragged Scholar's Home Made Happy. RTS, London, c. 1847-1853. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7549.

Richardson's Juvenile Library: The History of Goody Two-Shoes. Thomas Richardson, Derby, c. 1830. 14 x 9 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 3d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8300.

Robin Hood: Being a Complete History of All the Notable and Merry Exploits Performed by Him and his Men on Many Occasions. William Darton, London, 1822. 14 cm, 54 pages, illustrated [colour: copper engraved plates], 6d or 1s coloured. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8198.

The Rose: A Fairy Tale. Houlston and Son, London, 1834. 10 x 7 cm, 30 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7980.

The Rose Tree. RTS, London, c. 1847-1849. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7550.

Ross's Juvenile Library: The Adventures of Captain Gulliver, in a Voyage to Lilliput. J. Lumsden & Son, Glasgow, 1815. 11 cm, 50 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8284.

Sarah Bell and Fanny Blake: in Verse: Shewing, how Every Letter may be the Means of Putting a Good Thought into the Mind of a Child: addressed to Sunday Scholars and Others. RTS, London, c. 1824-1834. 11 x 8 cm, 68 pages, illustrated [black and

white: woodcuts], 4d.
https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7958.

Select Fabulist. James Clarke and Co., Edinburgh, c. 1824-1844. 11 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d.
https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7853.

Select Gleanings for Early Blossoms. J. L. Marks, London, c. 1835-1857. 14 x 11 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts].
https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7496.

The Shepherd and his Flock. RTS, London, c. 1847-1849. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts].
https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7551.

The Shipwreck: Showing what Sometimes Happens on our Sea Coasts: also, Giving a Particular Account of a Poor Sailor Boy, who was Refused any Assistance by the Wreckers, and who Died in Consequence of their Inhuman Conduct. RTS, London, c. 1822-1886. 10 x 6 cm, 20 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts].
https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7959.

A Short History of Birds & Beasts, for the Amusement and Instruction of Children. F. Houlston and Son, London; Wellington, c. 1828-1840. 11 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d.
http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7414.

The Silver Penny: for the Amusement and Instruction of Good Children. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1810-1841. 9.9 x 6.2 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts].
http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8263.

The Singular and Extraordinary Adventures of Poor Little Bewildered Henry who was Shut Up in the Old Abbey for Three Weeks. Houlston and Son, London; Wellington, 1832.

By the author of "Nothing At All" etc. 10 x 7 cm, 29 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7967.

The Sister's Gift; or, The Bad Boy Reformed. J. Kendrew, York, 1826. 9.3 x 6.4 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8264.

Soffrona and her Cat Muff. Written by Mary Martha Sherwood. Houlston and Son, London, 1828. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8247.

The Story of the White Mouse. Printed for the booksellers, Edinburgh, 1820. 13 x 9 cm, 44 pages, illustrated [black and white: copperplates], 6d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7222.

The Story of Three Little Boys and their Three Cakes. Houlston and Son, London, c. 1825-1838. 8.3 x 5.3 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1/2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7415.

Susan and her Birthday. RTS, London, c. 1847-1853. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7552.

"This Belongs to Me". Written by “G. B.”. The Publishing Office, Glasgow, c. 18--. 9 x 7 cm, 8 pages, no illustrations, 1s for 100 or 8s 9d for 1000. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7523.

The Tortoiseshell Kitten; or, The Adventures of Puss for Three Months. Dean and Munday, London, c. 1811-1847. 13 x 10 cm, 33 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7260.

Tom Thumb's Folio; or, A New Penny Play-Thing, for Little Giants: to which is prefixed, An Abstract of the life of Mr. Thumb, and an Historical Account of the Wonderful Deeds

he Performed. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1810-1841. 11 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=8265.

Tom Thumb's Play-Book: to Teach Children their Letters, by a New and Pleasant Method. W. Davison, Alnwick, c. 182-. 15 x 10 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7254.

A Traveller's Story. RTS, London, 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7553.

Travels of Fancy; or, More Roads Than One: for the Instruction of Youth. William Darton, London, c. 1811-1830. 14 x 9 cm, 42 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 6d. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7863.

Trifles for Children. Part I. Darton and Harvey, London, 1804. 12 x 9 cm, 52 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7865.

Two Dialogues with Children: on Keeping Holy the Sabbath, and on Going to Church. F. Houlston and Son, London; Wellington, 1818. 11 x 7 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7417.

The Two Pictures. RTS, London, c. 1847-1849. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7555.

The Two Rich Young Men. RTS, London, c. 1847-1849. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7554.

The Unhappy Boy Made Happy. RTS, London, c. 187-. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7556.

The Victoria Tales and Stories: Jessy Grant; or, Be Not Conformed to this World. Frederick Warne, London, c. 1865-1879. 14 x 10 cm, 8 pages, no illustrations. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7585.

The Village Curate: an Interresting [sic] Tale. Printed for the Booksellers, Glasgow, c. 1835-1849. 16 x 10 cm, 24 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7837.

A Visit to the Tower: being an Account of Several Birds and Beasts. J. Kendrew, York, 1810-1841. 9.6 x 6.6 cm, 16 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7455.

Webb, Millington & Co'.s Penny Pictorial Library: Aladdin. J. S. Publishing and Stationery Co. Ltd., London, c. 1854-1873. 16.1 x 10.1 cm, 12 pages, 1d, 8 woodcuts. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7595.

Weeds and Flowers. RTS, London, c. 187-. 9.6 x 6.4 cm, 12 cm, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7558.

The Widow's Lamp. RTS, London, c. 1847-1849. 9.1 x 6.4 cm, 12 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts]. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7559.

The Wishing-Cap. 10th ed., written by Mary Martha Sherwood. Houlston and Son, London, 1831. 10 x 7 cm, 28 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 2d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7978.

The Wonders of the British Metropolis: Being an Instructive and Amusing Sketch of London. Thomas Tegg, London, c. 1799-1846. 14 x 9 cm, 36 pages, illustrated [black and

white: woodcuts], 6d.
http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7580.

The World Turned Upside Down; or, No News, and Strange News. J. Kendrew, York, c. 1820. 10 x 7 cm, 32 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7458.

Young Lady's Library; or, Casket of Amusements: The Pigeon & Dove; The History of Betsey Harlow. Orlando Hodgson, London, c. 1832-1835. 9.7 x 6.3 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7405.

Young Lady's Library; or, Casket of Amusement: Riquet with the Tuft. Orlando Hodgson, London, c. 1832-1835. 9.8 x 6.4 cm, 22 pages, illustrated [black and white: woodcuts], 1d. https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/fullrecord.php?ID=7406.

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The Adventures of the Old Woman of Stepney. W.S. Fortney, London, 1859. 17.4 x 10.8 cm, 12 pages.

The Alphabet of Christian Morals. Darton and Son, London, n.d. 10.4 x 6.6 cm, 12 pages.

Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books: The Nursery Alphabet. Frederick Warne & Co., London, n.d. 26.4 x 23.1 cm, 16 pages, 1s or 2s mounted.

Aunt Louisa's Sunday Books: Children of the Old Testament. Edited by Laura Belinda Valentine. Frederick Warne & Co., London, n.d. 26.2 x 22.5 cm, 12 pages, 1s or 2s mounted.

Aunt Mavor's Everlasting Toy Books: The Picture Alphabet. Routledge, Warne, & Routledge, London, c. 1863. 24.5 x 17.1 cm, 12 pages.

Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: The Nursery Alphabet ABC. Routledge, Warne and Routledge, London, c. 1865. 25.3 x 18 cm, 10 pages, 6d.

Aunt Mavor's Toy Books: The Sad History of Greedy Jem and All his Little Brothers. George Routledge & Sons, London, c. 1865. 24.5 x 18.3 cm, 20 pages, 6d.

Aunt Oddemadodd's Whispers About Certain Little-People [sic], Second Series. Written and illustrated by W. Newman. Dean & Son, London, c. 1858. 24.6 x 18.9 cm, 40 pages, 1s.

Band of Hope and Children's Friend: April 1st, 1857. No. 76, Partridge and Co., London, 1857. 34.3 x 23 cm, 4 pages, 1/2d per issue.

Best for Boys: The Wild Adventures of Eddard and Jam Josser Abroad; and Plucky Phil Farren; or, The Brythwaite Mystery. Written by the author of "Tom Tartar" and "Handsome Harry". Best for Boys Publishing Co., London, c. 1880. 3d for complete volumes.

Blossoms from an Early Grave. Edited by Charlotte Maria Tucker. Privately published, c. 1866. 16.6 x 11.4 cm, 14 pages.

The Boy's Newspaper. Vol. 1, Nos. 1-34. Cassell, Petter, Galpin, London, 1880-1881. 35.3 x 25.1 cm, 1d per issue.

The Boy's Standard. London, September 19 1888. Various sizes, 18 pages, 1d per issue.

Cat and Mouse, with Explanatory Verses. Written by W. Harry Rogers, illustrated by Wilhelm Busch. Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, London, c. 1868. 15.2 x 25.2 cm, 16 pages, 6d plain, 1s coloured.

The Children of the Bible. RTS, London, c. 1852. 18.4 x 14.2 cm, 51 pages.

The Children's Treasury and Advocate of the Homeless and Destitute: An Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls. Edited by Dr Thomas John Barnardo. Haughton, London, 1881. 18.4 x 13.9 cm, 1/2d per issue or 1d for the drawing room edition.

Christmas Lights. Written by Helen Marion Burnside, "designed by J. Pauline Sunter". Raphael Tuck & Sons, London; Paris; New York, c. 1889. 17.2 x 19.5 cm, 32 pages.

Christmas Rose. Written by Robert Ellice Mack, illustrated by Lizzie Lawson. Griffith, Farran & Co., London, 1887. 22.8 x 18.4 cm, 40 pages.

A Christmas Tree Fairy. Written by Robert Ellice Mack, illustrated by Lizzie Lawson Mack. Griffith, Farran & Co., London, c. 1887. 23.5 x 18.8 cm, 40 pages.

The Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor. New Series, Vol. 1. Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday; Hatchard and Co.; J. Nesbit and Co., London, 1865. 15.9 x 10.5 cm, 192 pages, 1s.

Darton's Indestructible Elementary Children's Books: The History of Joseph. Darton & Hodge, London, n.d. 24.2 x 19.4 cm, 8 pages, 6d in colour, 1s indestructible, 1s 6d washable indestructible.

Darton's Nursery Leading Strings: The Scripture Alphabet. Darton & Co., London, 1855. 22.2 x 16.8 cm, 14 pages.

The Dawn of Day: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine for Sunday-School and Parish Use. Vol. 2-3, Nos. 13-72. No publisher named, 1879-1880. Various sizes, 95 pages, 1/2d per issue.

The Day of Rest: A Coloured Magazine of Sunday Reading for the Family. Written by Hesba Stretton and others. No volume number given. Strahan & Co., London, 1882. 25 x 18.9 cm, 62 pages.

Dean's Infantile Series: My Aunt's Alphabet. Dean and Son, London, n.d. 29.2 x 23.9 cm, 8 pages, 6d coloured, 1s cloth untearable.

Dean and Son's Young Child's Own Alphabet. Dean and Son, London, 1859. 22.2 x 14.2 cm, 2 pages.

Dewdrop and Glorio; or, The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood. Written by "Lady Russell", Illustrated by "The Honourable Mrs Drummond". Privately printed, Acted at Pembroke Lodge December 23 and 28, 1858. 24.2 x 19.8 cm.

The Dumb Alphabet; or, The Art of Talking with the Fingers. Darton & Co., London, n.d (probably before 1862). 23.7 x 15.1 cm, 8 pages.

The Easter Gift: being a Useful Toy for Little Miss & Master to learn their ABC. J. Catnach, London, c. 1825. 9.7 x 6.5cm, 16 pages.

Familiar Conversations and True Stories, for Children and Young Persons: Sir Isaac Newton and his Little Dog; The Poor Soliders, & C. J. and C. Evans, London, c. 1825. 16.5 x 11.5 cm, 8 pages, 1d.

The Feast of Circumcision: January 1. Joseph Masters, London, 1852. 10.3 x 6.7cm. 20 pages.

Flowers from the Garden of Knowledge: Prince Arthur's Alphabet. Petter and Galpin, London, 1852. 18.1 x 17.2 cm, 62 pages, 1s.

A Fly-Trap for Little Folk. Darton & Co., London, 1861. 18.3 x 13.7 cm, 32 pages, 6d.

The Fortune-Teller: By which Young Gentlemen and Ladies may Easily Foretel [sic] a Variety of important EVENTS, that will happen both to THEMSELVES, and their ACQUAINTANCE. Written by "Doctor Hurlothrombo". J. Harris, London, c. 1803. 9.75 x 6.25 cm, 64 pages, 2d.

Grandmama Goodsoul's New Series of Picture Books: The Queen of Hearts Alphabet. Illustrated by George Cruikshank. Read, Brooks & Co., London, 1865. 29.7 x 23.5 cm, 8 pages, 6d or 1s indestructible.

Grandmama Goodsoul's Series of Toy Books: Railway ABC. Read, Brooks and Co., London, c. 1890. 29.3 x 24.7 cm, 8 pages.

The Good Child's Alphabet. J. W. Bowden, Gainsborough, 1851. 13 x 8 cm, 2 pages, three 1/2d.

H. Beck's Series: Address to the Children of England. W. Tweedie; Harrison Penney, London; Darlington, 1855. 10.5 x 6.8cm, 8 pages, 6s for 100.

Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere. Written by Edwin Harcourt Burrage. No. 1-12, Best for Boys' Publishing Co., London, c. 1880. 24.7 x 18.3 cm.

The Headlong Career and Woeful Ending of Precocious Piggy. Written by "Thomas Hood", illustrated by "Thomas Hood's Son". Griffith and Farran, London, 1859. 24 x 18.2cm, 20 pages.

The History of Good Boys & Girls; or, One, Two, Three, Where's the Boy can Count Like Me. Hodgson & Co., London, 1822. 17.5 x 11 cm, 16 pages.

Hogarth's Idle and Industrial Apprentices: with Original Descriptive Poetry. Written by William Hogarth. T. Richardson, London, 1829. 13.25 x 11 cm, 18 pages, 1s.

Hymns and Pictures: Second Series. SPCK, London, c. 1886. 21.7 x 28.2 cm, 54 pages.

Ice-Peter, with Explanatory Verses. Written by W. Harry Rogers. Sampson Low, Son and Marston, London, c. 1868. 15.3 x 25.2 cm, 16 pages, 6d plain, 1s coloured.

The Indestructible Alphabet. Addey & Co., London, n.d. 17.6 x 13 cm, 16 pages, 1s.

Interesting Life Stories for the Old and Young: The Highland Soldier, and Other Stories. No 6 and 14, Alfred Holness; R. L. Allan, London; Glasgow, n.d. 27.1 x 18.6 cm, 16 pages, 1d.

Leaflets on the Law of Kindness for Children. Charles Gilpin, London, n.d. 6d for packet of 256 pages.

Little Goody Two-Shoes; or, Harlequin and Little Boy Blue: A Novel, Burlesque, Grotesque, Political, Pastoral, Pictorial, Grand Comic Christmas Pantomime. Written by "an Old Boy". Music for "Love, beautiful Love" (not included in play – verses only) by Frederic Maccabe. Song "Forget-me-not"; words by H. P. Gratton; music by Edwin Ellis. Aubert's Steam Printing Works, London, c. 1876-1877. 19.8 x 13.3 cm, 18 pages.

Little Mary's Scripture Lessons, Illustrated with Nearly One Hundred Pictures. David Bogue, London, c. 1842-1857. 36 pages, 6d.

Little Plays for Little Actors & Home Performance: Cinderella and the Glass Slipper; or, Pride Punished. An Entertainment for Young People. Written by Julia Corner, "embellished by Alfred Crowquill". Dean and Son, London, c. 185-. 17.9 x 14 cm, 32 pages, 1s.

Little Wide-Awake: A Coloured Magazine for Good Children. New Series. Edited by Mrs. Lucy D. Sale Barker. George Routledge & Sons, London, 1882. 24.8 x 18.7 cm, 4d per monthly issue.

Merry and Wise Annual for the Year 1870. Edited by Edwin Hodder. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1870. 17.1 x 13 cm.

Mother's Last Words. Written by Mary Sewell. Jarrold and Sons, London, c. 1865. 26 x 22.5 cm, 24 pages, 1s.

Naughty Boys and Girls. George Routledge & Co., London, n.d. 22 pages.

The Naughty Boys of Corinth, with Explanatory Verses. Written by W. Harry Rogers. Sampson Low, Son and Marston, London, c. 1868. 15.3 x 25.2 cm, 14 pages, 6d plain, 1s coloured.

The Newest Reading Made Completely Easy; or, A Necessary Introduction to Reading the Holy Bible. Consisting of Scripture, Historical, and Moral Lessons. Written by T. Davies. W. Darton and Son, London, 1831. 14.6 x 8.9 cm, 67 pages.

The New Nursery Alphabet, and [sic] Easy and Amusing Guide. Darton and Co., London, c. 1850. 24.1 x 16 cm, 16 pages.

New Short Stories: The Three Spots and the Three Marks. RTS, London, c. 1864. 12 x 7.8 cm, 12 pages.

New Series of the Children's Jewish Advocate. Vol. 1, No. 10. W. Macintosh, London, 1865. 14.3 x 9.1 cm, 28 pages, 1/2d.

The Night Guard; or, The Secret of the Five Masks. No. 1. Boys of England, London, 1887. 22 cm, 6d.

The Noah's Ark Alphabet. Illustrated by Walter Crane. George Routledge & Sons, London, n.d. 24.3 x 18.6 cm, 12 pages, 6d.

Old Aunt Elspa's ABC. Written and illustrated by Joseph Crawhall. Field and Tuer, Ye Leadenhalle Presse; Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; Hamilton, Adams & Co., London, 1884. 20.3 x 23.5 cm, 26 pages, 1s or 2s 6d coloured.

Old Proverbs with New Pictures. Written by C. L. Mateaux, illustrated by Lizzie Lawson. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., London; Paris; New York, n.d. 76 pages.

Our Saviour, and Lives of the Four Evangelists. B. Walker, Yorkshire, c. 1850. 17.6 x 10.8 cm, 10 pages.

Papa's Present. John Marshall, London, c. 1801. 8 x 6.25 cm.

The Peace Egg; or, St George's Annual Play, for the Amusement of Youth. J. Harkness, Preston, c. 1845. 16.8 x 10.65 cm, 8 pages.

The Pet Lamb, in Rhythm, intended as an Innocent Exercise for the Memory of Children, to which are added, The Ladder of Learning and The Robin. Written by "J.B.". William Darton, London, n.d. 36 pages, 1s or 1s 6d coloured.

Pictorial Instruction for Young Children: Moral Picture Book. Darton and Co., London, c. 1852. 20.5 x 16.2 cm, 32 pages.

Picture Books for Little Children: Pictures and Proverbs. RTS, London, c. 1864. 14.6 x 9.5 cm, 10 pages, 8[unreadable] per dozen assorted, 1s in an ornamental case, or 1s bound.

Pictures for the Entertainment of the Youthful Mind. E. Langley, London, c. 1802. 14.25 x 9cm, 34 pages.

Poems of Child Life & Country Life, in Six Books: Baby: Puppy: Kitty. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E & J. B. Young & Co. London; New York, c. 188-. 15.5 x 18 cm, 32 pages, 1s.

Poems of Child Life & Country Life, in Six Books: Grandmother's Spring. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E & J. B. Young & Co. London; New York, c. 188-. 15.5 x 18 cm, 32 pages, 1s.

Pollock's Juvenile Drama: Charles the Second; A Comedy, in Two Acts. B. Pollock, London, 1824. 16.2 x 10.5 cm, 16 pages.

Pretty Picture & Poetry Books: Prince of Wales' Parley's Primer. Webb, Millington & Co., London, c. 1850. 20.8 x 16.4 cm, 14 pages, 6d.

The Roman Standard Bearer: A Tale of Britain's First Invasion. Charles Fox, London, n.d. 23.8 x 16.1 cm, 61 pages.

Routledge's New Toy Books: History of Joseph. Illustrated by A. H. London. George Routledge & Sons, London, n.d. 27.5 x 19.4 cm, 14 pages, 1s.

Routledge's New Toy Books: Our Farm Yard. George Routledge & Sons, London, n.d. 27.1 x 23.2 cm, 20 pages.

The Sabbath Breaker Reclaimed; or, The Pleasing History of Thomas Brown. T. Goode, London, n.d. 21.5 x 16.7 cm, 12 pages.

Sabbath Talks About Jesus. Written by the author of "Sabbath Talks with Little Children". Knight and Son, London, c. 1867. 14.5 x 9.3 cm, 114 pages plus adverts, 1s.

The School-Boy's Recreation. No. 2., C. Facer, London, July 8 1835. 16 pages.

The School of Idleness and Extravagance; or, Direct Road to Ruin: containing Fourteen Examples of Persons who have come to Poverty and Shame through their own Negligence and Vice: an Awful Warning to All Children. Hodgson and Co., London, c. 1821. 13.75 x 9 cm, 36 pages, 6d.

The Sunday at Home. Vol. 13, No. 610-661. RTS, London, 1866. 27 x 19 cm, 1d.

The Sunday Picture Book, No. 1: Scripture History. SPCK, London, c. 1861. 21.3 x 27.3 cm, 43 pages.

The Sunday Picture Book, No. 2: Scripture Manners and Customs. SPCK, London, c. 1861. 21.3 x 27.4 cm, 61 pages.

The Sunday Picture Book, No. 3: Scripture Natural History. SPCK, London, c. 1861. 21 x 27.6 cm, 49 pages.

The Tiny Library: A Weekly Journal for the Entertainment and Instruction of Young Persons. Vol. 1, C. Wood and Co., London, 1846. 15.3 x 12.3 cm, 249 pages, 1d per issue.

Town and Seaside ABC. Dean & Son, London, c. 1880-1890. 24.2 x 18.3 cm, 12 pages.

The Train Scrap Book. Ernest Nister; E. P. Dutton & Co., London; New York, n.d. 25.6 x 31.7 cm, 46 pages.

The Rational Exhibition. Darton and Harvey, London, c. 1806. 14.75 x 9.25 cm, 62 pages, 1s.

Uncle Heart-Ease New Series: The Three Useful Giants, Wind, Water, and Steam, and What They Do for Us. Dean and Son, London, c. 1858. 12 pages, 6d.

Uncle Heart-Ease Series: Uncle Buncle's ABC. Dean and Son, London, 1857. 24.6 x 16.5 cm, 16 pages, 6d.

Verse Books for Children: A Soldier's Children. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J. B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1883. 15.5 x 17.8 cm, 32 pages, 1s.

Verse Books for Children: A Sweet Little Dear. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J. B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1883. 15.6 x 17.8 cm, 32 pages, 1s.

Verse Books for Children: Little Boys and Wooden Horses. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J. B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1883. 15.5 x 18 cm, 32 pages, 1s.

Verse Books for Children: Papa Poodle & Other Pets. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. J. B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1883. 15.3 x 17.9 cm, 32 pages.

Verse Books for Children, Second Series: Dolls House Keeping. Written by Julia Horatia Ewing, illustrated by R. Andre. SPCK; E. & J. B. Young & Co., London; New York, c. 1884. 15.2 x 18 cm, 32 pages, 1s.

Warne's Excelsior Toy Books: The Prodigal Son. Frederick Warne & Co, London, c. 1875. 24.3 x 18.5 cm, 10 pages, 6d or 1s mounted.

Warne's Excelsior Toy Books: The Story of Ruth. Frederick Warne & Co, London, c. 1875. 25 x 18.5 cm, 10 pages, 6d or 1s mounted.

Warne's Large Picture Toy Books: The Object Alphabet. Frederick Warne & Co., London, n.d. 24.5 x 18.3 cm, 12 pages, 6d or 1s mounted.

The Way to Wealth; or, Poor Richard Improved. Written by Benjamin Franklin. B. Crabb, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1822. 12.5 x 7.5 cm, 20 pages, 2d.

Whom Do You Love Best? &c. T. Nelson and Sons, London; Edinburgh; New York, c. 186-. 10.9 x 7.1 cm, 6 pages.

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